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ABSTRACT

The development of four core aspects of education in Jamaica are traced and comparison is made with development in Guyana, British Guiana, and Ghana. Teacher training, skill training, the foundations, and later development of secondary education and the management of education are examined. The articles in this collection discuss the impact of colonial legacy and problems faced by emerging nations in the development of an educational system. (JD)

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DEVELOPMENT and DISILLUSION in THIRD WORLD EDUCATION

with emphasis on Jamaica

edited by Vincent D'Oyley
and Reginald Murray

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Introduction

We thought it might be instructive to examine something of the historical development of education in Jamaica as a country that has so far failed to realize certain modest educational expectations. Hence this book.

At this exciting juncture in "Third World" redevelopment and its peoples' groping for indigenous strategies, the Jamaican arena is sufficiently large and complex to serve as a focus for the study of comparative social structures and creative educational innovations.

With a population of 2 000 000 and a surface area of 4400 square miles, the island would seem large enough for benefits of scale to be possible in its operations and small enough to escape the difficulties of unwieldiness in management. It has known the handicaps of colonization, and there has been no time since the emancipation when the population did not greatly exceed opportunities of gainful resource. Yet there must be few (if any) families that have never been in touch with an elementary school at least: the roots of Western formal education are more than a century and a half deep. Although no Jamaican government has ever made the education of the people its primary and fundamental objective, none has so neglected education that, other things being equal, it could not have "caught on" more widely and generated more sensible momentum.

Education has always been a route through which the aspiring ones among the lower middle class and among the peasantry tried to steer their children, with faces set toward the better life. Such people, in comparatively small numbers, have sometimes realized more than modest expectations; but they have constituted the exception. In general, the educational aspirations of the groups at the base of the social pyramid are known to be low. For such a state it is, of course, not only education per se that is to blame; it is also that a wealth- and status-producing technology has never been available to the groups concerned.

1

Although Jamaica has not been as economically fortunate as Trinidad, it has seen good times both in the far-off days when sugar was synonymous with prosperity and later in the banana era. More recently, it has had remarkable economic growth rates, due to bauxite, tourism, and industrialization.

As late as 1939 the public financial support given to schools was simply not enough to warrant any but exiguous results: if we use Great Britain at that time as the standard, Jamaica was spending one-eighth the amount it should on its schools. On the other hand, resources have not been all that lacking since the 1950s. While a predominantly hilly terrain makes a great many villages remote and defies a simple and inexpensive distribution of schools and the easy communication network enjoyed by an island such as Barbados, no Jamaican village is without access to more favoured centres.

Why then has the educational take-off been so far from realization? This is not the simple question it might at first appear to be.

This inquiry is not divorced from general issues about economic and social development. Circular arguments must be avoided, but it is obvious that some crucial factors in the situation are eluding the theoreticians and planners. One inference is clear: a country does not "make it" by pouring in lots of money and creating busy-ness on the education scene. Human values, prejudices, interests, motives, tradition, and leadership patterns have to be dealt with. All known resources for development are scarce, and policies, plans, and achievements must be carefully examined and rigorously evaluated. Out of this action must come the best choice of priorities for further development. Severe choices have to be made between long- and short-term remedies.

What are the factors that have been missing from the Jamaican scene? Do they include motivation and commitment, interest and dedication among civil servants and teachers? understanding, will, grit, and well-informed realism among politicians? Do factors which have not yet been studied in this context such as child-rearing practices, social structure, and general lifestyle not hold part of the key to the mystery? Students of Caribbean development must, in the course of time, take up these questions.

The total authoritarian state denies that (in the Kantian phrase) "politics must bend the knee before sacred human rights." In such states people are driven, often inhumanely, to achievement. On the other hand, in the freer democracies, some momentum other than brute force must be found. These "undirected" societies, particularly those outside the industrialized world, would do well therefore to examine what factors are and might be most closely associated with educational success in their own milieu.

In *The Achieving Society*, David McClelland examines problems relating to economic development; this effort would appear to us to be completely relevant. In Jamaica, in particular, one might ask what consequences have flowed from the accumulation of countless failures, educational and social, among the population. Not only is the society tolerant of these, but in the

examination systems and the arrangements for providing school places, massive failure rates have always been presupposed. Is there in fact a conspiracy among the successful to bar to others the educational route to success? Faced with this and the seeming impossibility of changing things, a civil servant may adopt a fatalistic attitude: "You are licked before you begin", "School place provision is a bottomless pit for funds." In the same way, school teachers often tend to concentrate attention on the few bright children in their classes, leaving the multitude much to their own devices.

The chapters which follow are not intended to answer all of the questions raised so far; they do, however, examine, largely from a historical perspective, certain critical issues in educational development.

The book traces the development of four core aspects of education in Jamaica, the largest of the English-speaking Caribbean islands, and using the paradigm of this Third World country makes certain comparisons with Guyana, a country of the South American mainland. Both Jamaica and Guyana had a British colonial background, and they enjoy similar levels of educational development. There is a marked preponderance in Jamaica of people of African descent. The ethnic mixture of Guyana is different: while African Guyanese form a significant 30 percent of the population, East Indians form 50 percent. Guyana also includes at least one group unknown in Jamaica – the Amerindian.

African Americans throughout the hemisphere are re-emphasizing their ethnic beginnings: by this means they will be able to interpret and assess the sociological discontinuities which have hampered the emergence of the image many groups consider vital to the post-colonial period. In a study of Jamaican achievement, therefore, the experience of Africa, particularly West Africa, is as relevant as anything Europe and North America have to offer. Ghana is chosen as the African country from which to draw certain lessons. Not only is Ghana "anglophone," but it affords comparison with Jamaica also in economic and educational trends. It too had a background of British colonialism from which it emerged with strong centrist tendencies.

The aspects of education studied are as follows:

- teacher training
- skill training
- the foundations and later development of secondary education
- the management of education

The comparison with Guyana (section IV) is historical in form and touches upon a wide variety of factors, including the newly adopted political ideologies. Two other factors are tributary to the study, namely:

- the aspirations of teachers (section V)
- a set of significant variables (section VI) not always taken into account in educational planning and management

These variables depend on whether education is tightly or loosely centralized, or whether it is wholly or partially decentralized. With awareness of Jamaican problems, light is shed upon the issues from Ghana, where the implications are weighty. An editorial note in each case serves to widen further the bridge between Ghanaian and Jamaican perspectives.

The first chapter of section I recounts critically the nineteenth-century background of teacher education. A second chapter provides the links up to and including the present. Section II interprets the orientation of the Schools Commission, which controlled secondary education (the Board of Education dealt with the elementary sector). The author of chapter 3 in that section concludes that education functioned effectively as a divisive rather than integrating force, and perpetuated the ascendancy of a privileged minority. Chapter 4 takes up the strain to show that the creation of the Education Authority gave a chance of utilizing secondary education as a direct development instrument through the production of teachers for the wasting primary sector, but that successive governments have failed to use the opportunity. In the treatment of skill training in vocational areas (section III) the background of history up to 1920 is carefully recounted; there follows an analysis of the search for training modalities that has characterized the post-1920 period. The concluding chapter relating to management adds the final dimension to the perception of need for greater realism, creativity, and decisive follow-through on action.

The unity of the book is not just the unity of naturally interlocking educational concerns; it is an integrating of conclusions that rationally dovetail. The inflexible links that chain primary and secondary education and teacher training together in a vicious circle of ineffectuality are exposed. The section on skill training also shows that although great strides have been made in some directions, further progress in this area is hampered by the inadequacy or non-existence of teacher-producing schemes. Failure by successive governments to correct certain qualitative faults of the system is noted, particularly the failure to develop during the 1940s the practical training centres as a type, in creative association with the land settlements.

There is a circular relation between education and social change. Like the currents in a Caribbean storm, social/educational tensions move in cycles; like the storm, too, social change may be driven in directions and at velocities that depend upon variables external to and transcending the system. In Third World countries, these predominant variables are either directly political or powerfully linked with politics. If these variables conjoin in the "wrong" ways, a Caribbean cyclone of chaos and destruction in some places becomes inevitable. If the variables are right, they result in bracing winds and soft, refreshing rain.

1

Plans and Progress in Nineteenth-Century Jamaican Teacher Education

Vincent D'Oyley

Vincent D'Oyley taught in schools and teachers' college in Jamaica and served as Chief Education Officer for St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Formerly a researcher, teacher, and administrator at the University of Toronto, his writings can be found in a variety of North American, Caribbean, and European journals and monographs. He is currently Professor and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia.

By 1835 the trend was unmistakable: the 335 000 blacks would soon be emancipated. But what sort of society would replace the simple master-slave pattern? Would a large part of the plantocracy and the formerly powerful Colonial Church Union succeed in harassing the missionaries, especially the Baptists and Moravians, into ineffectualness? How would villages for the free blacks be organized and by whom? Who would provide schools, and what purposes would schooling seek to serve? Who would be the teachers of a people formally unschooled but non-formally highly educated in the arts of survival?

It was an overseas bureaucracy that set the parameters for the society of apprenticeship – the proposed mode of transition from slavery – in 1834. The British government provided "English" magistrates to settle disputes between the European and black peoples who had to forge new relationships. And aiming to make the negro both Christian and literate, it also voted the Negro Education Grant with £ 30 000 in the first year. The Negro Education Grant would soon fund the visit of Inspector Latrobe to record, advise, and plan Jamaican education, but in consultation only with those who manned the churches and schools.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in disbursing the Negro Education Grant and private bequests, capitalized on the wave of paternalistic

voluntarism then gripping British missionary groups. The S.P.G. funded two-thirds of an education cost only where a missionary group pledged one-third. In Jamaica, many mission groups reorganized to raise funds locally and quickly established missionary staff and volunteers to spend funds and manage teacher education schemes and day schools.

A supplementary Negro Education Grant of £5000 aided substantially the preparation of teachers for the formal education system; much of that sum and the annual disbursement as well went to the Mico Charity and the National Schools, the two best organized of the early innovating teams. What role did the Jamaica government Assembly play in funding teacher education? Only when it became clear that the British government was lessening the Negro Education Grant and would end it by 1845 was the local plantocrat Assembly moved to assign funds to teacher education. By then there existed a core of teachers with some training and an established Church which recognized that through its schools and teacher education schemes it could probably maintain a firm hold on the allegiance of a large segment of the newly freed people. The Anglican Church, from the safety of its entrenchment in the Jamaica Assembly, utilized public Jamaican funds to outdistance the efforts of other religious groups. When by mid-century the political climate had changed in England and Jamaica, the Church influenced the genuinely nondenominational Mico scheme away from its earlier style and towards another, which was to perpetuate strong Anglican influence on Mico decisions and teacher training.

The rise and fall of individual institutions and sectarian schemes reflected directly the conditions on two fronts: the extent and management of "metropolitan" philanthropy, and island bureaucratic outlines for innovating, assessing, and replanning institutions and thrusts. But there were exceptions to the customary organizational patterns in the years before 1865: for instance, the stronger nonconformist groups, Baptists and Moravians, identified formal education as an integral part of village development. Such a pattern gave rise to many small, often cottage-type, training centres which nurtured a close community spirit, benefited from community labour for the building of the normal and day schools, and in turn educated the neighbours to better methods of planting and carpentry. Even here, however, foreign bequests were invaluable. Such democratic local ventures survived only where communities' determination remained strong or where a capable initiating missionary remained interested in teacher training for many years and attracted funds whenever he preached in Britain.

Another model of training centres was the type required by a religious group mainly for providing catechists and ministers.

Paternalistic Endeavours in Profusion

British women's groups were among the humanitarians who collected money

for the improvement of those West Indian societies where blacks would be free persons after August 1838. The funds were disbursed either to a missionary head office in Britain or directly to a society of white women in the West Indies, who would spend them on educational projects. Teacher training was one of their earliest emphases.

Moravians

The Ladies Negro Education Society, formed in 1825 in London (later in Birmingham and Liverpool), supported the Moravian Mission in Jamaica and persuaded it to establish a school, which became known as the Refuge, for free brown females. The Moravians, aided also by well-to-do groups of white women in Jamaica, immediately began to hope for refined domestic servants and Sunday school teachers from the venture; the English L.N.E.S. hired Mrs. Forbes as the first superintendent.

The Moravians, recognizing the limitation of having only one Refuge staff member as a teacher educator, sent a few of the gifted Refugites, about two annually by 1839, to the only important nondenominational training centre in Kingston – the one maintained by the Mico Charity.

Mico

Reverend J. M. Trew, agent of the Mico Charity,* had landed with a small contingent of European teachers at Kingston on 15 December 1835 and quickly advertised his intent to establish a model infant school as well as an infant normal department. Trew's plan was foreign paternalistic voluntarism at its best. In order to locate his training centres and schools appropriately, he himself traversed the island and assessed where there were gaps in the efforts of other missionary groups.

Within four months Trew demonstrated what could be achieved if a philanthropic group's resident supervisor had authority, a keen mind, unswerving purpose, and adequate funds. He had by then begun three teacher education centres – one in Kingston, another at Comfort Hall in Middlesex, the third at Somerton near Montego Bay. By mid-1836 Mico day and evening schools flourished in all parts of the island: five were established, four more planned. Trew, emboldened by the success which Wallbridge, McMurray, and Thompson – all Britishers somehow trained within this brief span at Mico in

*Lady Mico, who died in 1670, left £2000 to her nephew Samuel on condition that he marry one of her nieces. Failing that, one-half of the sum was to be devoted to the rescue of Englishmen enslaved by the Barbary pirates. Since piracy declined before very much had been paid out, the funds accumulated. Finally, the trustees applied to the Court of Chancery for direction on the disposition of what was now some £115 000. The Court decided that a suitable purpose would be the education of the newly emancipated West Indians.

Kingston – were achieving as heads of the three Mico teacher education centres, offered to train teachers for any missionary group.

Trew's successful initiative earned him the speedy wrath of the powerful Anglican bishop, Lipscombe, who enjoined all his officers to dissociate themselves from the Mico Charity since it refused to place its endeavours under his control. While the Anglicans and Wesleyans recruited no Mico trainees, Trew found ready collaborators in the Baptists, the London Missionary Society, the Ladies Negro Education Society, and the Scottish Missionary Society (who sponsored students especially to the Kingston Mico centre).

To train beginning teachers was the first task of the Mico centres. The second task, that of motivating and aiding the new teacher to teach well and manage a school efficiently, soon appeared as urgent. Trew's report of July 1836 indicated how he was approaching that second task. Given the island's division into three counties, he saw the master of each of the three training centres assuming the role of local inspector for the day schools in his county. In addition, the plan called for the principal of the Kingston centre to make or authorize special inspections of any Mico school or, upon request, of any other society's school anywhere in the island.

Trew, like the sponsors of the Refuge, hoped that brown trainees would be the mainstay of his teaching team. That hope soon fizzled out; the brown graduates taught for brief periods only. That being so, the Mico principals turned to recruiting disbanded white soldiers and, increasingly, black youths. Those two groups stuck longer to teaching.

The vicissitudes of the Cornwall and Middlesex training centres and the Mico system of inspection are chronicled elsewhere. (See Bibliography at end of this article.) Trew sailed south in early 1837 to establish Mico centres in Antigua, Trinidad, and British Guiana. E. A. Wallbridge succeeded him in Jamaica. By the end of that year, lack of initiating staff had effected a diminution of rigorous and frequent inspections to maintain the enthusiasm of young teachers, and both the Cornwall and Middlesex teacher training centres ceased their training functions and became merely model day schools.

Wallbridge's outline of his Kingston centre, written as a guide for McSweeney's British Guiana program in 1839, provides us with a vivid outline of the training activities and the curriculum. He organized the students into juniors (and subjuniors) and seniors, with the latter teaching the three R's to the former. The superintendent himself taught the seniors, ensured that they memorized long Bible passages, and answered questions on the practical business of school management.

Moravians

Excellence of the training was the main reason that the Moravians sent senior Refugites to the Kingston Mico centre. In his need for male teachers, how-

ever, the Moravian superintendent, Jacob Zorn, resolved quite early to train his own. In any case, after 1837 there was no longer a Mico centre in Middlesex to which he might have sent young men. Zorn's first Fairfield teacher education venture was a household affair; he merely kept three young men as his boarders in 1839 and taught them the three R's, the Bible, and gardening. Within two years he recruited F. R. Holland, an agriculturist, to be the chief instructor for ten trainees, whose carpentry and garden products supplemented the budget maintained by the institution's Bristol sponsors.

Anglicans

It is said that Bishop Christopher Lipscombe reorganized the Anglican Church, lessening clerical abuses considerably and making it more evangelical in character. Thus the Anglicans began to compete with the nonconformist groups in the Christianizing of blacks. Lipscombe's Jamaica National School Society of 1835 had a comprehensive day school and teacher-training plan. It recruited British teachers trained in Andrew Bell's Madras system at the London Central School and institutionalized the training of Jamaicans – all of this with funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as well as from private Anglican groups in Britain and in Jamaica.

Lipscombe himself selected Frederick and Louise Lyne from the London Central School in 1835 as teacher educators for Jamaica. Soon the Lynes' Kingston Central School for male and female probationers and monitors provided a National system certificate to those who passed the rigorous final examination. That certificate was a passport to employment as a teacher even with various non-Anglican groups. To teach in an Anglican school one had to obtain a licence from the bishop.

Because Lipscombe had negotiated a special agreement whereby in the rural parishes the vestries contributed substantially to school building and teacher fees but left the bishop to select the master and manage the school, the National system was able to employ more than a score of schoolmasters by the time C. J. Latrobe visited Jamaica in 1837. National teachers were required to follow a uniform system of instruction and also provide regular reports for the scrutiny of the Central School superintendent. By November 1838, although 37 masters and mistresses taught in National schools, twelve positions still remained vacant.

Inspection as an in-service device was implemented by the Lynes' successor, George Hill, who left the instruction of trainees to E. Deacon so that he himself could devote considerable time to visiting National schools throughout the island. In March 1839, Hill inspected no fewer than fifteen schools; earlier he had ensured boarding facilities for the trainees who came into Kingston from the rural areas; later, around 1840, he gave brief life to a teacher education centre in Montego Bay.

Table 1/Summary of Nineteenth-Century Teacher Training Institutions*

1832-1848	Refuge	women	Moravian
1835-1847	Airy Mount; to Villa de Medici (1836); to the Grove (1837)	men	Anglican (C.M.S.); Anglican/Mico (1842); Anglican (1844)
1836-present	Mico/Kingston	men; women also in early years and latterly	Mico Charity
1836-1837	Mico/Comfort Hall		
1836-1837	Mico/Somerton		
1836-1849	Kingston Central	men, women	Anglican
1836-c.1840	Jamaica Metropolitan	men, women	Baptist
1839-1900	Fairfield	men	Moravian
1840-1900	Calabar	men	Baptist
1841-1843	Kettering (Falmouth)	women	Baptist
1841-1877	Bonham Spring; to Montego Bay Academy (1844); to Ebenezer (1871)	men	Presbyterian
1842-1843	(Auld's school)	men, women	Wesleyan
1847-1851	Villa; to Croydon Lodge (1850)	men	Board of Education
1859-1861	Brownsville	women	Presbyterian
1861-present	Bethabara; to Salem (1889); to Bethlehem (1891)	women	Moravian
1868-1871	Falmouth Model School	men, women	Board of Education
1868-1876	Bath		
1869-1870	Montego Bay		
1869	Port Maria		
1870-1874	Port Antonio		
1872-1875	Charlestown		
1870-1890	Stony Hill; to East Branch, Kingston; to Spanish Town	men	Government
1878-1890	St. Mary's	women	Anglican/Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
1885-present	Shortwood	women	Government
1897-present	St. Joseph's	women	Roman Catholic

*In the case of some of the earlier endeavours, the assigning of dates must be somewhat arbitrary in view of the tentative nature of the operations.

Church Missionary Society

Outside the mainstream of Anglicanism was the Church Missionary Society's teacher education scheme. Reverend Haensel, fresh from the West African mission field, stated in 1835 his intent to manage the National or British school system to develop a group of black religious teachers to labour independently of European superintendence. His manse centre at Airy Mount removed to Villa de Medici in early 1836 and to the Grove by 1837. This C.M.S. scheme was imperilled by changes in superintendency, remote location, and lastly by dwindling funds. Eventually the school passed to the Mico Charity in 1842 to carry on with increased efficiency and more extended usefulness in training Church of England school teachers. A compromise between Bishop Lipscombe, C.M.S., and Mico that would have ensured the centre's continuation with Mico ended abruptly when Spencer, a new bishop from Newfoundland, succeeded Lipscombe in 1842. Spencer quarrelled with the other two parties, appointed his own principal to the Grove, and sought such complete control of the seminary that the Mico officials ceased to fund the scheme. By then no fewer than 45 teachers had been trained.

Baptists

Unlike the C.M.S., the Baptists, with a long tradition and strong links with blacks in many parts of the island, exerted considerable influence on the direction of the new society. The well-known James Phillipo in Spanish Town established in 1836 the Jamaica Metropolitan School, conducted on the plan and principles of the British and Foreign School Society. The J.M.S. drew its pupils from other parts of the same complex: large separate day schools for boys and girls. Enrolment at the J.M.S. included both blacks and browns; its graduates went to positions in Baptist schools throughout the island. By 1837 both male and female model teachers were themselves native non-white Jamaicans – the earliest reference to such high positions being held by local persons rather than British expatriates. Small Baptist teacher education centres flourished for a few years in Montego Bay, Falmouth, and Kettering (the last for females only).

Wesleyans

The Wesleyan Methodists seemed set for success in teacher training when they lured to their service in Jamaica, in 1841, the Reverend John Auld, for several years principal training master under David Stow in the Glasgow Education Institution. By then the Negro Education Grant was being reduced, and other agencies were being forced to reduce their education expenditure.

Auld's teaching competence was pre-eminent. The public was delighted with his demonstration lessons, and for a while his seminary attracted many students. But a mood of despair set in after Auld's insult of a former Glasgow

fellow student then teaching at the Mico; additionally, a conference of Wesleyan ministers regretted that their superintendent and Auld himself did not find a way for them to share in the shaping of teacher education schemes and the management of the day schools. Then too, Reverend Young, a London emissary to Jamaica in 1843, was encouraging the Wesleyans to discontinue Auld's school and instead to train their teachers at the Mico, where the Glasgow system was from his point of view already efficiently institutionalized.

But Auld was not to be undone; he opened a private normal seminary in 1843 and combined it with a classical day school for boys. He probably received government-funded pupil teachers, as is suggested by the fact of Inspector Jasper Cargill's visit to his centre in 1846. That private program might have folded by 1847, since soon thereafter no enrolment figures appear.

Reverend Young's visit to Jamaica arose from the British Wesleyans' desire to curtail and redirect expenditure as well as to collaborate more effectively with other groups engaged in educational pursuits. Some other denominations also sought curtailment when the Negro Education Grant's reduced funds made it impossible for them to maintain teacher salaries. Nor did British and Jamaican bequests maintain former levels in the mid-1840s. With the closing of many day schools some religious groups wondered how to maintain their hold on the allegiance of the black population.

Baptists

By the mid-1840s the Baptists had already established Calabar. That had been ensured at their annual meeting in 1839 when, spurred by the illustrious William Knibb, they resolved for a main centre to train not merely teachers from among the native converts but moreso ministers and teachers of God's word, who would in turn evangelize Africa. The Church Missionary Society had the same hope of the Grove, and the Presbyterians were to state a similar purpose for their centres. Mid-1840 attempts suggest a lessening of the importance and status of the teacher and a recognition of the need for black ministers as society's leaders. The Baptists, in particular, had severed some subservient ties with the home church and could not continue expecting white ministers for all of their churches.

Calabar had a manse-like beginning with six students in 1840 under Joshua Tinson of the Yallahs and Hanover Street circuit. Because of Tinson's ill health the seminary closed for a while, but Knibb persuaded the home mission in 1842 to provide enough funds to buy property in Rio Bueno in Trelawny for a new start. There, when Tinson read his opening address in October 1843, he spoke more about an educated ministry than about teachers. Tinson's curriculum stressed Hebrew, history and geography, English composition, and the Bible, with emphasis on expository reading. The records

give varying details of the careers of the sixteen students educated at Calabar up to 1850, when Tinson died. It is clear that about one-third of these graduates remained teachers, and many of the others taught for some years before completing their theological studies.

It was after 1850 that Calabar set up a special teacher training centre. Partly because the Baptists feared loss of financial support from British Quakers if its teacher training was too allied to theological training, and partly because of the pedagogical views of the school's new president, D. J. East, Calabar did not want to awaken in the teachers in training a desire for the ministry. In searching for a teacher educator East and others sought a man with proper British education and a knowledge of music, a tolerable acquaintance with mathematical science, a practical knowledge of the British system, and an aptitude to teach, with power of government not only over children but over men. It was realized that Rio Bueno's being near to the Kettering village schools already established by William Knibb immediately provided Calabar's new normal school department with practising model schools.

The first permanent master, A. H. Dick, constantly kept in view the wants of elementary day schools and tried to ground the students thoroughly in the essential qualifications of a young peasant school master. His duty to the schools over which the young men were to preside forced him to remove from the curriculum some of the higher studies and instead to stress school management, the three R's, music, elocution, geography, and Euclid. A few were allowed to attend classes in rhetoric, church history, and Latin as given to the theological students.

From Calabar, Dick soon found his way to the staff of the Glasgow Training College, and East, for a time, had to manage with the aid of one of the graduates. After an inspection visit from E. B. Underhill, the secretary of the British Baptists, in 1861, that group began paying the salary of the normal school tutor in addition to their regular financial commitments to theological training. While the Jamaica Baptists accepted gladly this foreign support, on the other hand they continued to believe all interference on the part of the local government, with either education or religion, was injurious rather than beneficial.

Presbyterians

The Kirk was more pro-black after emancipation than before, and its concern for blacks took on a grassroot image after the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery emerged in 1836 from a union of the ministers of the United Secession Church and those of the Scottish Missionary Society. A small group of superior Scottish teachers included Drummond, Cowan, Goldie, and William Anderson (the last two later moved to Old Calabar in West Africa). They opened, in Hampden and Goodwill, day schools of such a high standard that

their senior pupils became assistant teachers immediately or after short periods of training at the Mico. By 1841 Presbyterian elementary education was so satisfactorily entrenched that Missionary Blyth could insist on an academy as a desideratum: it grew quickly from the foundations laid in that year in Bonham Spring, so situated that it would receive pupils from feeder schools nearby.

The academy was to serve a rather wide purpose: that of training native youths as teachers, catechists, preachers, and missionaries, especially for Africa and the West Indies. By 1844, it had the grandiose label "Jamaica: West Indian and African Educational and Theological Institution" and was moved to Montego Bay, a better site. The enrolment of about forty could be divided into two groups: those whose parents paid for a classical education and those supported by the mission or friends to become teachers and missionaries. When Inspector Cargill visited there in 1846 he found ten boarders preparing for teaching roles. For him they read from Caesar's *Commentaries* and parsed Greek; he concluded that the system was good. Cargill not only regarded the academy as the island's best but noted that it bore comparison with many excellent ones in England. Between 1847 and 1863 the missionary students fluctuated between eight and fifteen, and the fee-paying ones sometimes numbered sixty.

In 1850 the academy continued to accept boys only after they had passed through several branches of common education. When a theology tutor, Renton, was added around 1850, another master, Miller, concentrated on teaching English, history, geography, writing, mathematics, chemistry, and Latin. The teacher-trainees attended some of the theology lectures. School management was taught mainly by precept. An 1854 report noted that twenty coloured graduates of the academy discovered admirable gifts for imparting instruction and were conducting schools with great efficiency and success. By 1859 there were thirty graduates working in 47 Presbyterian schools throughout the island; some others returned to serve with the agencies which had paid for their education. The United Presbyterian Church in Scotland paid the greater share of the academy's expenses up to 1864.

The Presbyterians did more than complain about the lack of female teachers; they started, under Miss Teape's superintendency, a small manse centre at Brownsville in 1859. Her six pupils studied the Bible, the three R's, geography, astronomy, piano, and some French because it was hoped that some would go as missionaries to Haiti. The centre was short-lived, since the United Presbyterian Church began curtailing its expenditure. No records of the centre appear after 1861.

This was clearly a period of beginnings. People from Europe, provided largely with funds from their religious organizations or governments, created teacher education centres substantially according to the metropolitan model that

they knew. Diminution of those funds invariably whittled down many schemes. Also rivalry among Europeans and among the Christian denominations determined teacher education and set a peculiar pattern of conflict for all educational developments. Not to be creators of thrusts, the black majority received developments, however engineered and however they assailed the survival of their Africanness.

Incipient Bureaucracy in Teacher Education

C. J. Latrobe, the most important inspector of the 1830s, was sent by the Imperial government to advise on the workings of the formal school system paternalistically provided to the blacks. Latrobe visited all regions of Jamaica, and invariably was joined by missionary societies' special envoys and their important local colleagues whenever a teacher training centre was visited. From such a setting did Latrobe comment on the number of hours devoted to the instruction of probationers and monitors at the National Society's Kingston Central School and on the pleasing fact of female teacher training and the use of local, non-white master teachers at the Baptists' Jamaica Metropolitan School in Spanish Town.

Latrobe catalogued location and quality of training centres in 1837. His views on the potential usefulness of centres – the areas of expansion in some, and the need for curtailment in others – influenced the discretion which missionary headquarters and island missionary assemblies later exercised in disbursing their funds. Latrobe's report was the first comprehensive island statement of what existed. He documented but could do little about the friction between missionary bodies and the opposition of many to his hope that the churches would collaborate in the siting of educational institutions.

The 1840s witnessed the beginning of a bureaucratic structure in the island's teacher education system. Correspondence from the British Secretary of State to the Governor of Jamaica and the House of Assembly emphasized the role of negro education for improving the future agricultural and commercial prosperity as well as the moral and spiritual well-being of the people. The Secretary of State even suggested an education tax to prod parents to accept responsibility for educating their children. His aim was clear: the island Assembly must legislate funds to replace the ebbing Negro Education Grant. The Assembly began voting substantial funds for education from early in the decade and also took other steps to indicate that it was assuming some considerable education responsibility.

To spend its education funds, the Assembly created a Board of Education, whose Secretary inspected the schools and formulated plans. The Assembly's unspent 1844 education grant of £400 was in 1846 earmarked for assistance to one or more normal industrial schools. The Board sought to spend half the funds on the Mico institution, provided it increased its enrolment to

forty, set up a system of industrial training, submitted to the Board's inspection, and trained students intending to teach in Church of England schools. The other half of its funds was designated for training teachers of the established Church under the sanction of the Lord Bishop, probably at the Grove. In that way did the established Church dominate the first round of the skirmish against the interests of the nonconformists and of the nondenominational Mico Charity.

When it was realized by 1847 that the Mico trustees would not reorganize Mico teacher training as stipulated, the Board subsidized the education of pupil teachers, a scheme of training suggested to supersede that of monitors and probationers. A subsidy to competent master teachers in a variety of educational institutions was paid to ensure extra instruction for a few promising pupils before they entered normal schools for regular training. The total subsidy of £ 500 was disbursed on a formula to Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Hebrew Mission, London Missionary Society, Moravians, and American Congregationalists. The Baptists abhorred the scheme, and both the Roman Catholics and the London Missionary Society diverted the funds to general educational purposes. It was a minuscule scheme, and that particular form of pupil-teacher subsidy died out within a few years.

The Board's boldest attempt was in the founding in 1847 of its own normal school on a forty-acre irrigated plot at the Villa near Spanish Town, the then capital. There, practical agriculture could be introduced through lectures by the chemistry professor, as had been done at the Board's expense previously at Mico. The location had the advantage for that epoch in that ministers of all religious persuasions were easily accessible to the students.

Inspector Cargill commented in 1847 that especially for the black applicants, intellectual attainment was secondary to their moral character and patient endurance; Christianizing black students was a major objective of the establishment. But all the entrants had at least had a fair background in the three R's. A team of inspectors representing government and church interests found that the students had achieved a high standard especially in geography, Latin and Greek, mathematics, and English, but no serious and prolonged agricultural training, another major objective, had been realized. In spite of Cargill's suggestion to recruit female students, they were not admitted to the Villa (which closed in 1850) or at the relocation at Croydon Lodge (which ceased to operate in December 1851). Throughout the few years of its history the normal school's enrolment had varied between seven and fourteen men annually.

One might note with interest the Board's effect on the Grove normal school when Mico participation was withdrawn and it came solely under Anglican jurisdiction. Writing in 1845, Reverend Morris, the new principal, hoped for 22 students, subsidized by the vestries. In 1846, however, Inspector Cargill found only five students enrolled and commented that as the Grove

was then, it was of little worth. Yet in May 1847 the Board granted £300 to the Grove to educate five pupils for two years provided the program was operable. But even with that encouragement the Grove could not be resuscitated.

Cargill and some ministers of religion hammered out progressive teacher training ideas in the Board of Education; he advocated that there be local examiners to examine teachers and to recommend for certification as well as summer courses at the government normal school. Also there was outlined a scheme for the establishment of parish model schools with boarding facilities and subsidized pupil-teacher instruction. In spite of recommendations to consolidate industrial training, agriculture and carpentry found deep roots neither at the Villa nor in the other main centres to which government students were sent for training.

As noted elsewhere, in the expansionist well-funded years of the 1830s and 1840s the chief education officials of the Mico and of the National Society and some educators in the nonconformist societies used inspection to shore up the enthusiasm and probably the competence of their teachers in remote areas.

Inspection as a bureaucratic device for improving teacher education was implemented only when the island government, having belatedly accepted fiscal responsibility for schools and teacher training, had created its Board of Education as an agency of centralization. Inspector Cargill and the Board sought to ascertain standards through some supervision. Cargill visited the educational institutions at which there were pupil teachers for whose training the government paid. He had much satisfaction in examining and conversing with them in 1847 when he visited the Presbyterian Montego Bay Academy in the far west of the island.

The Board of Education was the bureaucratic centre which examined alternatives presented to it by a government educator, who had to search for compromise and the feasible in a land where many could hardly be expected to forget so quickly the arrogance of the plantocracy and the Colonial Church Union. Within that background we find, for example, that the Board's inspection team to the Villa included not only the island's governor and the Archdeacon of Middlesex but a Baptist minister as well. Ideas to improve teacher education came from many denominational groups with influence and interests maintained by the Board. But even the Board could not achieve a speedy unity of purpose. Nor would the House of Assembly provide continuing and adequate funds to develop industrial pursuits at the Villa, the Board's own normal school. In 1851 Cargill failed to obtain funds for the distribution to teachers of education books, an innovation that he considered essential. In spite of those setbacks the notion of a Board to coordinate diverse interests, with a highly paid civil servant reporting to the island Assembly, and with a blueprint for utilizing centralized inspection and

publications, paved the way for later action and progress in teacher education. But some lines were drawn. In a black country, the white bureaucrats and white religious leaders desired progress in the same direction. Yet elected members (white) of the governing house gave only fluctuating financial assistance. Teacher education was not a high-priority item for the plantocracy.

Organized Bureaucracy Approaches Teacher Education

In English education Newcastle's Commission of 1858 inquired into the state of popular education and identified measures for the extension of sound and cheap elementary education to all classes. Newcastle reported in 1861 with suggestions for securing regular school attendance, a wider curriculum for older pupils, and sounder teaching. Insisting on capitation grants and special grants for pupil teachers where schools had a satisfactory inspector's report, the Newcastle document ushered in for most areas of the British world the system of *payment-by-results*. In the colonies, senior education officials had full knowledge of the Newcastle findings. "Free trade" in education was to mean either an efficient education or a cheap one.

In Jamaica John Savage, a former Mico infant-school teacher and teacher educator, and himself a Mico trainee, was the inspector of schools attached to the Board of Public Examiners in 1863 and 1864. The two reports submitted by Savage in those years, along with Cargill's insights in the 1840s, became the backbone of the new bureaucratic approach.

Savage, relying heavily on the Newcastle data-collection method, recommended a better class of trained schoolmasters as the main requirement, better salaries to attract more qualified persons, and a competitive examination followed by a few weeks or months in a model training school (to be established for the purpose) so as to provide an insight into a regular system of teaching. Each of the three counties should have its own model school with a first-rate schoolmaster.

The Board of Public Examiners did not act immediately. The Morant Bay rebellion of 1865 made clearer the inefficiency of government by the House of Assembly, and Governor John Peter Grant's introduction of direct crown colony government was to mean more initiative based on the payment-by-results model.

Model Schools

The model schools became a reality in 1868. Of the first two masters imported from England, one went to Falmouth, the other to Bath. Two more masters were sent in 1869, one to Montego Bay, the other to Port Maria. One of them, William M. Griffith, has provided a classic description of the introduction of model schools in his book *Government System of Education in*

Jamaica: Its Staff and Model Schools 1872. Griffith was angry at the excessive and multifarious duties assigned to these schools and their masters. They were to provide a sound elementary education for the children of the lower classes; models of efficient school management for the guidance and instruction of the teachers of the elementary schools in the districts nearby; and training for apprentices who might thereby ultimately become efficient masters of their own elementary schools. Even if the tasks were feasible for singlehanded attainment, the model school masters, as Griffith admitted, were wholly ignorant of the manners, customs, and patois of the negro majority whom they were hired to serve.

How did the model schools fare? Healey at Falmouth, having received a disgracefully poor third-class grade from the inspectors, was soon dismissed for misconduct. Chief Inspector Savage admitted in 1877 that of the five teachers, four failed completely, although Robert Elworthy at Bath seemed to have been effective in the years 1869-71. He had high enrolment, a woodwork shop, and a small museum, and good farming was fostered among the local people. In Montego Bay, Griffith earned government disapprobation when he attempted to use the monitorial and the pupil-teacher systems in his centre's operation: the inspectors did not wish to have the teacher apprentices involved in the actual conduct of the model schools; all instruction was to be carried out by the model master.

The model schools foundered also on the rocks of denominational opposition, unyielding to all bureaucratic efforts and persuasion. As Savage admitted, the denominational managers looked upon the model schools as opposition schools to their own, made regular targets of them, and employed every effort to discredit them. Controversy over the Bath school revealed the root of the friction. Wesleyan minister Sargeant promptly put his best teachers in a Wesleyan school to compete with the government's, and would not yield to Savage to let them work together because he could not afford to lose denominational hold on the children. In consequence, the expensive model school closed, and nearby a Wesleyan day school rose to a good standard with funding under the payment-by-results scheme.

There were other problems also. Distance and poor transportation made attendance by teachers at the model schools difficult and often impossible. Denominational groups would not release their teachers, and in any case there was too little incentive to the teachers to attend. Not being allowed to use monitors and pupil teachers made management and effective teaching of up to ninety pupils of varying ages an impossible task for any model school master.

In the final round a measure of success attended the scheme at the Port Antonio and Charlestown schools, both of which opened after the early four (Port Maria, Falmouth, Montego Bay, and Bath). George Rouse, who had successfully operated an industrial school at Mount Holstein, opened the

Port Antonio centre in August 1870. He had two competent work masters, one work mistress, and two apprentices. Twenty of his pupils boarded with him in the barracks-like quarters, and although their parents objected, many volunteered for agriculture and carpentry. The whole venture was relabelled the Port Antonio Training College and Model Industrial School in 1872. Six teacher trainees were enrolled in 1872 in a training scheme that continued to about 1874. Elworthy, formerly at Bath, managed the Charlestown centre and utilized the government Buff Bay river plantation for industrial training of the Maroons. That it was a successful community-type school as late as 1875 there can be little doubt; but the absence of other schools nearby in that mountainous region must have rendered it of minimal use for model teacher training purposes.

Inspector Plummer lauded the Port Antonio scheme. Through it, he estimated, the schools in Portland, which were of the lowest type of the lowest class, were beginning to have new vigour infused into them by the proximity of the Port Antonio school. Rouse's Model Industrial School passed a good first class in 1873, and in its whole organization and discipline, as well as the high moral tone that pervaded it, was unsurpassed by any of its kind in the island.

Some interesting points of comparison emerge from a reconsideration of these centres, which were not the only ones of their type to fail. For example, in Canada, Egerton Ryerson's Ontario model schools failed even in spite of Ryerson's continued presence and dynamism: they folded mainly because of the unconcern of local superintendents (themselves possessing inferior training and experience) as well as unsuitable buildings. Savage's scheme succeeded only where a master teacher had support staff and successful previous local experience, and where there were boarding arrangements for teacher trainees, adequate quarters, and a central location with easy accessibility from many schools. But were the Port Antonio graduates effective school masters? The best known of them, Charles E. Skyers, did not achieve success early. But by 1885 he was teaching at the Mico day school in Kingston, from where he joined the Mico College staff and played an important role in developing the Jamaica Union of Teachers and the Manual Training Courses of 1902-12 in Kingston. The others took teaching posts in many parts of the island; for them no pattern of special success has been unearthed.

Stony Hill

John Savage's reports of 1863-64 had also worked out details for a government training college at Stony Hill, near Kingston, to be run in conjunction with the boys' industrial reformatory. Begun in 1870, the Stony Hill college graduated 75 teachers out of 140 entrants by 1884. Its 1870 entrance examination in dictation, elementary algebra, music, history, etymology, and reading was said to be the first such rigorous experience in the island. Soon,

however, the tutors had to accept recruits whose attainments were far below even the low stipulated standard, thus forcing the college to engage in academic work of a very rudimentary nature. That circumstance was to plague Jamaican teacher education beyond the mid-twentieth century.

Their curriculum was the customary standard one found in many denominational centres elsewhere in the island at that time. Music was stressed. Industrial pursuits were considered essential, and the government required that staff members have industrial experience. Nevertheless, the industrial aspect of the school never succeeded; by 1877, in spite of increased grants to extend the programmes, they had succumbed to lack of enthusiasm.

Usually the hours of 6:30 to 8:00 a.m. were given over to outdoor manual labour on alternate days, and two students went daily to the carpenter's workshop to make school equipment and repair the premises. There was little wonder that they shirked those tasks or did as little as possible in the allotted time. Any student with the interest or ability had the chance to pursue higher studies, and by the time the college had been moved to Kingston and then to Spanish Town the whole emphasis had clearly shifted from the industrial to the academic. Writing to Grüchy of Mico in 1885, the Spanish Town principal, Reverend C. F. Douet, mentioned the longer training period of three years and the addition of a fourth year for the more promising. The fourth-year students studied mathematics, Greek, and Latin and taught the first-year students. Douet saw the higher studies and longer period of education of a few as a means of supplying masters of secondary schools and a few for the ministry. In the provision of secondary school teachers, Douet expected Mico to follow the lead given by Spanish Town.

In the early years at Stony Hill practical teaching was stressed via the criticism lessons. The principal, in 1871, formed the opinion that such lessons not only tended to excite emulation, but were also highly beneficial in affording practice in the art of speaking from memory, in correcting errors in grammar, and in improving delivery. During the fifteen-minute address on a biblical, historical, or scientific topic, fellow students noted on their slates the capacities of the performer's voice and his manner and treatment of the subject. In the ensuing half-hour the tutor brought out more by questioning those parts of the subject neglected or superficially treated. The tutor also suggested techniques for securing the children's attention. Lecture topics were mainly those considered suitable for collective lessons in elementary schools, and an "A" student prepared his criticism lesson carefully beforehand; his special notebook contained outline notes for the lesson to be discussed with the tutor and was retained by the tutor. These notes of lessons formed part of the subject of the criticism kept for reference by the college.

The criticism lectures were preparatory to the "oral gallery lessons" and patterned after those recommended and conducted at the Glasgow Normal Seminary. The criticism lesson was not an end in itself. It was part of the

Jamaican training college tradition at that time to provide opportunities for improving the students' speech. The Baptists at Calabar had for many years, since Tinson's regime, paid particular attention to speech and delivery. The use of Standard English was not widespread among Jamaica's newly enfranchised, and both the bureaucracy and the church shared a partnership unswerving in the resolve to Anglicize the blacks and develop an Englishman's style of speaking even if the result was mimicry, style without content.

The college superintendent organized an elementary school early in September 1870, the first year of the college's existence. There, the parents, in keeping with the practice in other parts of the island, paid a penny-halfpenny weekly for the schooling of each child. By December 1870, the 51 pupils on the school's records were furnishing additional opportunities of thoroughly drilling the college students in matters connected with school management. In fact, since by that time Mr. McDougal had resigned his post, the school was administered wholly by the students.

What with the duties of the regular day-school master falling to the students, it was little wonder that in October 1871 the school obtained at the government inspection only a third-class rating. Though established for the benefit of the students, it was often unable to provide them with models of good school management; it provided only practice. In some denominational training centres, model school-keeping deteriorated even further.

Students also taught in the boys' reformatory school, whose master, in 1871, wrote at length about their lack of interest and perseverance and their poor standard of teaching.

Part of the teaching in the boys' reformatory was an extension of the criticism lesson technique, and from the beginning of 1871 a student delivered, twice weekly, a collective lesson to the boys. The other students attended and noted the faults in manner and material committed by the one who gave "the Address." They then returned to the college and criticized the lesson. As in the formal criticism lesson, a student was limited to fifteen minutes so that the exercise would compel him to keep as close as possible to the subject. Criteria for criticism included the quality of the information conveyed, aptness of illustration, simplicity of manner, and ingenuity of awakening and sustaining the attention of the children.

The trainees had the advantage of observing demonstration lessons occasionally given by the superintendent to the boys of the reformatory. He aimed thereby to illustrate to them the model method of instruction. That was the first reference, since 1850, to a normal school tutor or superintendent of a training college in Jamaica using his own demonstrations in actual classroom situations as a method of instructing teacher trainees in the techniques of teaching.

These attempts by the central machinery, as in the case of the model schools, illustrated the gap between plans and the harsh realities of imple-

mentation by white personnel of programs for the black majority. Yet the efforts do also outline the objectives of the bureaucrats. Their goals, similar to those of the churches, sought to move the black trainee towards a new language, a new way of perceiving and transacting, and a style of delivery that had been fashioned in the theological colleges. Where possible they stressed skills training, but with little success. Through these official ventures government sought to enlarge the pool of teachers, influence how the denominational colleges worked, and produce more of the new type of leaders.

The Inspectorate, Local Leaders, and Teacher Improvement

During this period the inspectorate was the fulcrum of the organized bureaucratic approach to implementing and maintaining educational programmes. Savage had outlined the scheme to provide school masters. He was to do more, of course. It was his lot to refine in *Education Government Regulations 1867* the payment-by-results details whereby one school master was labelled first class, or another third class; the inspectorate labelled 286 schools in 1868, and by 1887 the number of schools visited stood at 72[illegible] Savage with bureaucratic certainty zealously proclaimed that the inspectorate would instruct willing teachers more fully in the details of their profession and provide hints for improving their schools, that being much more important than merely examining to pay grants.

To inspect more and more schools and to do so more frequently, since pupil teachers also had to be passed or failed, the government enlarged the inspectorate. Savage, alone in 1866, had two assistants in 1869 and was one in a team of eight by 1881. Most held temporary assignments to visit designated schools when in session. Those visits more than matched the intrusions from ministers of religion, who managed the schools on behalf of the people who as members of the churches owned the denominational lands and school buildings.

John J. Wood, the first permanent assistant inspector, sought especially to equip his teachers to teach English composition so efficiently that their pupils would abhor the patois. George Hicks, in the inspectorate since 1876, emphasized the importance of reading. Savage's successor, Thomas Capper, explicated the weakness of the island's teacher training systems and outlined many schemes for its improvement.

But who were the inspectors, and how did the managers and teachers receive them? The managers commented often in the 1870s that the inspectorate was fair, and that more inspection was especially desirable since school masters improved under the system. The Falmouth Presbyterian minister, William Murray, though agreeing that the inspectors acted justly and concurring that he found no fault, insisted on two objections: the inspection system was too elastic; and with John Savage as chief inspector the inspec-

torate had no head, no source of life, no intelligence. Murray, in recounting to an important commission a black teacher's disgust at Savage's ignorance of grammatical rules exhibited while inspecting, questioned how an uneducated man could inspect schools himself and also direct a team to guide teachers.

Savage, as a Jamaican-trained educator, had a lower level of formal education than many on his own team; certainly his education was not as high as that of many of the island's ministers of religion. In spite of that fact, Savage was the severest critic of the inspectorate as it operated in 1877: he wisely advocated that it be extended by the employment of runners or visitors of the same level as the head teachers, to collect statistics for payment-by-results, thus leaving the inspectors more time to devote to teachers' problems in methodology, discipline, and organization. In such an improved system, an inspector would be allowed to visit his schools twelve times annually. Savage envisioned considerable school improvement if those inspections were allied to more frequent educational visits from the day-school managers.

Like Savage, many of the inspectors had had creditable teaching experience within Jamaica: notable were Acheson Finlay, former Falmouth school master and former government teacher educator, and Charles Douet, an important rector and a former principal of the Spanish Town government teachers' college. Increasingly, the later appointees had less practical experience but higher formal education. That trend in hiring and the later inelasticity of inspections combined to stir up a crescendo of criticisms from teachers as they began to understand their own roles better and found strength and buoyancy from their own professional organizations.

In the development of teachers' associations as a vehicle for professional self-improvement, the partnership between government inspectors and the local ministers of religion grew. That tenuous partnership from earlier times had sought to stress to teachers distant from towns the importance of acquiring published educational materials and had found ways of helping them to select texts more skilfully. The government education depot and museum of books and other supplies in Kingston operated for only a few years in the 1860s.

As early as mid-century, John Buchner, the new Moravian superintendent, had organized his teachers to attend semi-annual conferences and contribute from their experience to the further improvement of the schools. Buchner persuaded them to meet at other times with each other for similar purposes. By 1854 Moravian teachers were meeting for professional purposes regularly, and the semi-annual meetings were firmly entrenched at New Carmel and Fairfield, whose teachers' college staff participated fully in the movement.

George Hicks, an inspector, promoted on a wider scale what Buchner started. The records of 1877 credit Hicks with summoning the teachers during his tour to lecture to them on school management and to discuss details of teaching. As a consequence the teachers in Cornwall formed themselves into an association with the purpose of mutual instruction and en-

couragement. At the forming of the St. Mary association in 1882 not only teachers but managers participated. Similar associations from St. James to Guys Hill mushroomed. Managers enthusiastically agreed to share the burden and responsibility connected with the associations, whose objects were to promote the interests of teachers, advance their profession, increase the efficiency of their work, and generally further the course of elementary education in Jamaica.

To those association meetings did Hicks and teacher educator H. S. Gill provide helpful hints from British educational periodicals, emphasizing where one would, for instance, find model answers to pupil teachers' examination questions. Hicks even invited magistrates and planters as well as parents to meet teachers and managers, two aims being to raise the concerted views of many so as to impress on parents the value in paying the small fees charged for their children's elementary education, and to help the teachers understand the problems derived from the pupils' home environments.

In the 1870s, and through the years until the end of World War I, ministers of religion held the post of either president or vice-president in most teacher association groups, and there was a strong movement to organize teachers within denominational lines. A clear pattern had emerged: the bureaucracy and important local leaders, clerical and lay, were sharing in the task of aiding the teacher not only to teach in the schools but to attain a higher leadership status in the communities. The bureaucrats emerged as inspectors; the ministers of religion emerged as managers, caretakers of people's property, and special guides to the school master.

Apprenticing under the Pupil-Teacher System

In 1877, the government organized the pupil-teacher system after the earlier irregular attempts by the Board of Education between 1840 and 1850 had fizzled out. Pupil teachers, aged 13 to 17, were required to have achieved Standard Five in the three R's at least six months before an appointment. The only other requirements were good health, good character, and the indication of an aptitude for teaching. Their training could take place in any school with a registered and efficient head master, who was then allowed one pupil teacher for every forty pupils in average attendance, or two for a principal teacher and one for each registered assistant. The contract for employment of a pupil teacher was made between the pupil and his or her parent on the one hand and the manager of the day school on the other. These conditions did not change appreciably over the next fifty years.

Grants to pupil teachers varied according to their progress and years of teaching service. The annual salary was £4, £5, and £6 for the first, second, and third years respectively. Movement from one salary grade to another was based on success at an annual examination by the inspector of schools, who

tested the candidate on the day of the school's inspection by means of questions printed on cards. The "card" system is likely to have helped to make even that oral type of examination somewhat uniform. The education department paid a head master £1 to instruct one pupil teacher and £1.5 for each additional apprentice. Those wages meant a substantial increase in the earning power of any head teacher who had two or three pupil teachers.

John Savage's first annual report on three groups of pupil teachers totalling 47 records as strengths of the system the improved general education afforded to the apprentices and the better opportunity it opened up for preparation to teach. The assistant inspectors encouraged this new system and criticized the retention of monitors wherever they encountered it. Savage hoped that most of the pupil teachers would seek admission to the training colleges, become qualified, and thereafter efficiently manage some elementary schools. Because he found the head teachers often ill equipped with text books and apt to instruct the pupil teachers too narrowly, Savage suggested that the schools provide some books to be used in instructing pupil teachers. The full set of books costing £1 formed the nucleus of a valuable little library for the pupil teacher even after he became a school master. The list included books in arithmetic, geography, grammar and composition, history, general knowledge, and school management; they helped the teachers also to know the source from which the questions were drawn and gave teachers and pupils little or no excuse for being poorly prepared.

That as many as 56 pupil teachers passed their examinations in 1880 was taken by the education department as a signal that day-school managers would substitute that program under systematic government supervision for the ill-regulated system of monitors. Yet Savage's successor, Thomas Capper, emphasized then that the examination of pupil teachers was unsatisfactory in that the same questions were asked orally year after year of all pupil teachers whenever their schools were inspected and the procedure was rather lax, with little attention to instructing the candidates.

Capper ended the inadequate oral examination system in 1882; for the first time candidates (nine in all) wrote answers to special papers on a fixed date at examination centres. But from that first written examination the inspectors concluded that the third-year pupil teachers seemed to know less than when they had entered their engagement. The *Supplement to Jamaica Gazette* (April 1883) reported that the pupil teachers had "had little or no special instruction from their teachers, and being endowed with a great faculty for forgetting."

In 1887 there was another innovation whereby volunteer candidates on the payment of a fee obtained permission to write the pupil-teacher examination. Unlike pupil teachers, volunteer candidates were young persons outside the teaching service; some were still pupils in the elementary schools. Admission of this group to these examinations was another means of stimulating

literacy and building up a large pool of potential teachers. This route opened an opportunity for advanced learning for many and was a grammar school equivalent for the poor in remote areas. The practice began to be established of adults in rural areas purchasing evening lessons from the local day-school teacher as preparation for pupil-teacher examinations – the passport to better employment and improved social status.

To ensure that teachers, managers, and pupils knew the education department's evaluation of the papers written by pupil teachers and volunteers, subject-by-subject assessment for each of the three examinations formed a substantial part of the inspectors' reports sent to the managers of schools, who in turn discussed them with their head teachers. The official reports of 1884 summarized all-round improvements but concluded that the standard of written work was still unsatisfactory: copy-setting remained as badly done as ever, and grammar still occupied first place as the subject of lowest attainment. In 1902 the criticism of the English papers continued to be severe.

In some regions, teachers paid greater attention to pupil-teacher instruction and gained the expected results. The cluster of Moravian schools in Manchester deserves special mention because of the excellent performance of their pupil teachers over prolonged periods. By 1885, one of that group of schools, Bethany, earned the education department's special commendation for the continued high attainment of the pupil teachers. But we should be mindful of the fact that Moravian missionaries were diligent managers of their day schools. They visited often, helped in practical ways, and encouraged their teachers. Without the managers' influence and cheering help, school teaching there might have degenerated into a dreary and uninspiring pursuit and the pupil teachers' results in Moravian schools in Manchester might have been as poor as in so many other parts of the country.

Many day-school managers recognized the superiority of the pupil-teacher system over the old monitorial practice and encouraged its development. Admission of volunteer candidates to the pupil-teacher examinations increased the popularity of the examinations. While in 1880 only 8 percent of the schools had pupil teachers, by 1909 they could be found in 62 percent. Before curtailment there were 590 pupil teachers in the schools in 1897/98. To cope with the increased numbers, managers of day schools were asked by the education department to supervise the annual examinations. They cooperated willingly, and that practice continued into the twentieth century.

The cooperation of managers was a strong factor in promoting the increase in the number of pupil-teacher examination centres, and fostered some gradual improvement in preparation of candidates along lines stipulated by the education regulations. But the system was caught in a vicious circle: unless more and better-prepared training college graduates could be retained in schools in the rural areas, the preparation of pupil teachers could not make the difference expected. Pupil teachers were often given responsibilities be-

yond their levels of preparation. The Lumb Commission in 1898 found many schools where the principal teacher had only a third- or fourth-class pupil-teacher certificate.

The pupil-teacher program suffered from an inadequate curriculum, and it remained a narrow apprenticeship scheme with its quality trapped within the limits of the capability and willingness of individual masters and within the opportunities for further education available to these aspiring apprentices. It offered no progression from the then customary emphasis on rote learning. However, the written examination did offer some standardization, and the emergence of the teachers' association between 1880 and 1920 ensured forums for teachers, inspectors, and managers to discuss details for improvements.

Timely, too, was William Gillies's Educational Supply Company, which distributed readers adapted for use in Jamaica and the bulletin *Jamaica Journal and Teachers' Aid*, which carried extensive assessments of the pupil-teacher examinations, long lists of recommended texts and abstracts, and some detailed explanations of methods of teaching.

The Denominational Teachers' Colleges

Under crown colony rule, the religious bodies were for the first time relieved of the burden of paying the salary of their day-school teachers provided the teachers earned adequate marks at the government inspection. That pattern also funded to a considerable degree the day schools opened for teacher trainees' practice and attached to many denominational teachers' colleges.

The Moravians continued to operate Fairfield for young men and, from 1861, Bethabara for young women. Even in the 1870s admission to Fairfield was based not on a competitive examination but rather on the acquirements of a good pupil of the day school and special recommendation from his minister of religion. Probably the sharpest departure from earlier years was the centre's reorganization and its hiring of a competent native Jamaican day-school teacher to instruct in methodology, gardening, and music and especially to maintain the link between the college and the day school. At Bethabara also the emphasis on practice teaching by senior trainees, with the junior ones acting as monitors, continued unabated. Both Fairfield and Bethabara boarded some of the trainees – 205 men between 1869 and 1877 and 33 women between 1867 and 1872.

The teacher education ventures were considered expensive by the foreign Moravian Mission Board, which almost alone paid the expenses: contributions from the Jamaican circuits were infinitesimal even after the Moravians linked the education of Moravian ministers to that of teachers at Fairfield in the 1870s. Financial difficulties and inability to find suitable staff meant periodic closing of the colleges for many months in some years.

At Calabar the Baptists continued to import their teacher educator but insisted that he familiarize himself with Jamaican conditions by visiting Baptist schools and preaching in the churches. Rather soon after the introduction of the payment-by-results system the Calabar theological students were to study the theory of school management, to keep registers and summarize school statistics, and to teach in the practice school. By that means the future managers of Baptist schools would understand school-keeping.

With its concern for educating school masters for the working poor, Calabar's emphasis on gardening, carpentry, and cabinet-making under a qualified carpenter is understandable, and the graduates of the early 1870s were well equipped to participate in the government's industrial school scheme.

Reverend J. Seed Roberts, principal from 1864 to 1880, could not perform efficiently all the tasks expected of him: he was to inspect Baptist day schools, manage and teach in the training college, and supervise the practice school. For a time he even taught in the new Calabar high school. Little wonder was it that inspectors Savage, Capper, and Hicks regretted poor standards in the day school and among the teacher trainees, and found there evidence of record falsification – a common occurrence through the land. Because of those events, the Calabar committee of Jamaican ministers sought Roberts's resignation. But Edward Bean Underhill, who energetically maintained the venture's funding from Britain, threw his support to Roberts and thereby ensured his continued employment.

Presybterian teacher training in their academy ceased about 1876, although that centre had been moved in 1871 from Montego Bay to Ebenezer, where the advanced students worked for a few hours daily as government pupil teachers. The lone tutor, Alexander, followed a less rigorous curriculum in Ebenezer but tried to equip the students to teach grammar and arithmetic. For the Presbyterians, their churches' need was not for teachers: their Foreign Mission, which carried the burden of the academy, investigated in 1870 why Jamaica relied so much on European ministers and was not providing its own. That team's recommendation numbered the days of the academy.

Similar circumstances surrounded other denominational training ventures: less and less were the religious groups capable of maintaining large training schemes, since either the bequests from Europe were not forthcoming or the churchmen were in the main unable to grasp the significance of new indicators for viable replanning.

Towards 1900

New government regulations in 1885, stricter inspection of teachers' colleges and assessment of trainees' performance, and public criticisms of the lack of trained female teachers ensured some redirections. The denominational

colleges, by volunteering to accept government funds and follow the guidelines in organization and curriculum, were often able to double their 1882 enrolment figure. But where a college failed to equip its students to pass at the government inspection, the consequent loss of grants led to the institution's closing, as in the case in 1890 of the government Spanish Town college and of an Anglican women's college, St. Mary's, at Basset Key near Balaclava. Even then, however, the outcry from the religious denominations and lay leaders, such as the Custodes (senior lay magistrates), enabled the government to pursuade England to fund a government college for women, Shortwood, from 1885. Before the end of the century Shortwood had moved to Barbican, and the Moravian centre at Bethabara had been enlarged at Bethlehem, where it still operates. The Roman Catholics opened St. Joseph's, a small teachers' college for women, in Kingston in 1897 and complied with government requirements for emphasis on practical subjects. It was daring to open a centre at a time of recession. Yet St. Joseph's has demonstrated how an urban college should prepare teachers for the black working class and be mindful of the aspirations of that group, structuring training schemes accordingly.

The next powerful influence on teacher education was the Lumb Commission, established as a result of the economic depression of the 1890s. Judge Lumb, assisted by Archbishop Nuttall, Reverend Gordon, and Reverend William Gillies, advised expansion of Shortwood and alteration of the curriculum so that higher studies in Latin and mathematics were curtailed and an emphasis placed on the basic skills, domestic science, manual and agricultural instruction, and school management. Following those recommendations the Board of Education implemented vacation agricultural training for teachers at Mico, Bethlehem, and the Jamaica High School from 1900 onwards. The Board also ordered Tropical Readers and other local writings which introduced local agricultural methods. They quickly became popular in the elementary schools. It was soon apparent that the Board of Education was implementing the recommendations of the Lumb Commission rigorously. Colleges which could not comply lost their grants: such was the fate of Calabar and Fairfield. At the beginning of the twentieth century, government funding for male teachers was concentrated at the nondenominational centre, Mico, which expanded between 1900 and 1913 to also train men from the Leeward Islands and British Guiana.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Jamaican teacher education had located itself at an intriguing juncture. The number of training centres were few but large: Mico for men; Shortwood, Bethlehem, and St. Joseph's for women. Thus, except for Bethlehem, all formal teacher preparation was located in one place, Kingston. Regional needs were served less in 1900 than in 1836, when religious bodies were using training centres to reach the populace and establish their spheres of interest. The curriculum was practical, with emphasis on the basics, on skills training, pedagogy, and physical educa-

tion. All training received government funds and came under official scrutiny and standards.

The outstanding Christian churchmen, invariably white, shaped the policies in the Board of Education, on the college boards, and often in the teachers' associations and through publication sources. The black majority, having been schooled since emancipation to disdain and disrespect their own past, did not like the curtailment of higher studies and might have preferred a system that saw the emergence of only a few educated to a higher level. Policy-making remained in the hands of Europeans, and no way had been found whereby the leaders emerged from the majority race. Although there had been a local tradition of skills in the trades, the senior craftsmen who taught the trades to trainees were Britishers, and most of the senior teachers' college staff were from elsewhere. No alliance had taken place between ideals and leadership from the Christian church and those from the folk culture.

In the setting of standards of behaviour in teachers' colleges, the churchmen still determined the speech, behaviour, and style of teaching. It must have been particularly difficult for neophytes such as pupil teachers, who had only had the opportunity to learn by imitation from those with a partial acquisition of the trappings of professionalism. Yet pupil teachers were manning schools. And while black women for a very long time had had little access to training, trained male teachers' marriages to women who had not been trained at the feet of churchmen were bewailed by missionaries. Many male teachers must have come to see themselves wrapped in swaddling clothes of negativism, a frightening garb from which to imbue the future citizens with a strength of ethnicity.

Nineteenth-century Jamaican teacher education had not been particularized to give black trainees pride in who they were; they could, however, be proud if they attained the piety, acquired the speech, and followed the curriculum and organizational pattern that they themselves did not promulgate. They could not hope for advancement similar to that assured to the few white trainees. The folk culture was not part of the formal school system; nor could the "successes" of peasant agriculture find a place in the school garden. A scheme and a structure had been rigorized, and part of the peasantry had learned well to accept, at least publicly, the values of others as embedded in the content and style of the stabilized system. But was such a leadership training system, which lacked ingenuity of institutional placement and emphasis on the arts and music of the masses, a satisfactory basis for innovations in later years when the majority faced the need to respect themselves, know their traditions, and accept the responsibility for governing themselves?

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2
Twentieth-Century Developments in Teacher Training

Reginald Murray

In the previous article, Vincent D'Oyley illustrates the sporadic character of nineteenth-century developments in teacher education, which, with the exception of the Mico College, depended almost wholly upon religious denominational support. The denominations not only rivalled one another but opposed government efforts. Where a single facility would have sufficed, several came into being, each catering for no more than a handful of students. Not all were able to meet standards imposed by the government under the system of payment-by-results introduced with the 1867 Code.

With the reorganization of church-government relationships and the emergence of more liberal official attitudes to education, greater attention was paid to teacher supply. Mention need be made only of the Shortwood Teachers' College, an interdenominational women's college established in September 1885. Ordinary students were selected through a competitive examination, and an entrance fee of £5 was paid on admission, a sizeable sum for those days. Board and lodging during term time was free, however.

Elementary schools under religious banners had been springing up in hundreds under the stimulus of government grants, and there was a shortage of people with even modest competence to conduct them. The pupil-teacher system became the accepted means of selecting and educating boys and girls of promise who would ultimately be admitted for full professional training. Initially, the attainments of these youngsters were appraised by the inspectors of schools by means of written tests administered on the day of the annual examination. There being no secondary schools available for black children, the tutoring given by head teachers to pupil teachers was extended by private arrangement to promising school monitors and others. Soon the numbers of these private pupils (volunteers as they were later called) presenting themselves for the pupil-teacher examinations became so great that large-scale provision had to be made for them. Volunteer candidates were also out-

numbering the pupil teachers. In 1899 there were 480 pupil-teacher and 662 volunteer candidates.[1] Sixty years later the numbers reached a total of 15 436. A mere 2475 candidates passed the examinations that year – 16 percent.

Some of the main attributes of the teacher training scene as we know it today, with minor changes, were fixed also before 1900. The following are noteworthy:

- The training facilities available were sufficient to produce only a fraction of the teachers needed in the schools. In 1900, for a total of 757 primary and infant schools there were 458 trained teachers in service, together with 151 on probation awaiting certification.
- The drain of teachers from the schools into other occupations at home and abroad was to become a marked feature: many sought the training because it acted as a gateway to more attractive careers.
- The teachers' colleges and the primary schools belonged to the poor and the underprivileged, who remained a class distinct from the well-marked privileged groups; the colleges opened narrow quivering bridges between the two classes.
- No training was available or deemed necessary for high school teachers. Until the coming of the University College of the West Indies, a degree or other evidence of satisfactory academic competence to teach was sufficient.
- As befitting the common concerns of the unsophisticated communities to which they would return, elementary teachers in training were given a broad, necessarily shallow, education in various disciplines. In about 1900 there were thirteen subjects on the curriculum at Mico, and every student had normally to obtain a pass in each.

Faithful to its British model of the nineteenth century, the Jamaican college strove to prevent its students from forming "a false estimate of their position in relation to the class to which they belonged, and which they were destined to instruct." Mico men repaired to the spacious lawns once a week with a machete, and with rake and hoe to the college vegetable garden. "The endeavour must be on the one hand to raise the students morally and intellectually to a certain standard, while, on the other, we train them in lowly service, not merely to teach them hardihood and inure them to the duties of a humble and laborious office, but to make them practically acquainted with the condition of the community among whom they will have to labour. . . ."[2]

However, as a senior inspector of schools told the Lumb Commission, "We are getting the best material available from the elementary schools, and we are devoting our whole energy to training them as schoolmasters." Doubtless this was so. In the mind of the average village folk there was nothing to rival teaching as a career possibility in those days.

Up to World War II, the staffs of the training colleges were dominated by Europeans, mainly British. In the case of the Mico and Shortwood a Jamaican or two who had achieved distinction in the college course and examinations might be invited to return as junior tutors; but none, however qualified, hoped to become principal, unless he or she boasted ethnicity equal in all intents and purposes to European. Some of the "best" products of the colleges became exaggeratedly mannered in speech and deportment and cut curious figures among the rural folk.

In the retrenchments that followed the Lumb Commission, the cause of teacher education suffered in one serious respect: namely, the duration of the college course was reduced from three to two years "to allow for more trained teachers." But while the Commissioners were making this recommendation, they were also coming to other conclusions that were tantamount to serious contradiction. "We are of the opinion," they wrote, "that the teachers as a body are probably the weakest and most unsatisfactory part of the present system, though the evidence shows an improvement in those that have been trained in recent years." The curriculum in use at this time contained Latin, French, and mathematics as options. These were banished. In the end the three-year course was retained, but standards were lowered so that a teacher with two years' training could still be certificated but at a lower grade and salary. Sixty years later (1967), a similar device was used, and for the same reason – to provide more teachers in a given time. On the latter occasion, however, the fall of standards was more decisive – the three-year course was abolished for everyone.

The arrangements that obtained in 1900 were to serve, with minor variations, for nearly four decades, at the end of which period certain amendments in the interest of modernization (by no means radical) were introduced. Fundamental changes had to await the coming of the Board of Teacher Training, which was first appointed in 1956 to deal with curriculum and examinations. Its membership consisted of the principals of the five colleges then in existence, two representatives of the Centre for the Study of Education, one representative of the Education Authority, and two officers of the government department of education. The Centre for the Study of Education was a small unit in the Education Department of the then University College of the West Indies, and one of the two representatives was the Professor of Education, who was elected chairman of the Board of Teacher Training. That year saw the widespread introduction of optional subjects in college curricula and the setting up of subject committees. A subject committee comprised the tutors of the three-year colleges who were representatives for that subject of the curriculum. The establishment and success of the one-year emergency college at Moneague for older untrained teachers made it possible to abolish round about that time the external examinations through which serving teachers could gain certification without a college course.

By this time training was free of cost to the student. Up to the beginning of the 1950s the annual government grant to a college was rigidly based on some quota of recruitment and a more or less fixed total of enrolment. A few students could at one time gain admittance as fee-paying, provided they possessed the necessary entrance qualifications, usually the Third Jamaica Local certificate. As the college quotas became woefully inadequate, the government was in the 1950s induced to abolish fees, both boarding and tuition. Even so, there were times in the years 1969-72 (periods of relative economic prosperity) when there were fewer applicants in a particular year than the number of college places offered.

The lines had thus been laid for perhaps the foreseeable future. We referred above to a lowering of standards in the interest of numbers; the adoption of a two-year college course in 1967 was packaged with the dedication of the third year to an internship, which in most practical respects was a year of full-time teaching. Proposals were made but only partially implemented for continuing the education of interns. The two-year group, as the first interns, joined the teaching ranks in September 1967.

Governments in Jamaica have tended to steer away from a policy of 100 percent qualification for all teachers because of costs. Already all training is free and salary differentials are substantial – too much so, as claimed by the Teachers for a Democratic Jamaica Teachers' Association.[3] Yet a graduate teacher in a primary school is not paid as a graduate; he might earn more than the principal if he were. So he is discouraged from any inclination to full qualification. It remains to be seen what differences materialize from signs on the new ideological horizons.

The developments of 1956 paved the way for closer relationships between the government system of teacher training and the University of the West Indies. These relationships were to attain maturity with the establishment of the Institute of Education in 1964.[4] With a grant from the Ford Foundation, the university and its supporting governments were enabled to "phase" gradually into total responsibility for the costs.

> The Institute [is not only a] department in the University though it is one, with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other departments – it has the special character of being also an association, in which the University, the governments, the training colleges and the teaching profession come together to pool resources and help one another to achieve the highest professional standards in the educational service we give in our several communities. This co-operative relationship is expressed in the Institute Board, the first example of which is already all but established in Jamaica, and we hope the second will soon be established in Trinidad. But over and above the functions and the organisation, the spirit of the Institute is important. It seeks to stimulate and inspire. Its activity is always with rather than to or from. It recognises that its aims and intentions are the same as those of

teachers and education officers everywhere and at all levels. But it has the advantages, on the one hand, of being free from the administrative preoccupations of the Ministries and the exhausting cares of the schoolroom, and, on the other, of being part of the University, with all that that implies in respect of standards and the accessibility of knowledge. It is able in consequence to concentrate its attention on professional quality and ways of achieving it, and to act as a catalyst in the educational processes of the region.[5]

The parties now associated with teachers' colleges in their training tasks include the Ministry of Education, the University of the West Indies (mainly through the School of Education), and teachers through union representation. The organ of collaboration is the Joint Board of Teacher Education, which establishes standards and approves courses of study for the preparation and certification of teachers. A whole range of involvement is herein implied, the Board's functions being liberally described. The Board acts as a forum for all sorts of matters relating to training – philosophical, pedagogical, and administrative. It gives judicious encouragement to innovation. It deals with the training aspects of the internship and conducts all the final examinations. Standards are validated by a system of external assessment (i.e., joint attention to programmes and to evaluation of student achievement) together with the making of provision for staff development activities.

Students prior to internship are required to take among their courses English (including the language arts and reading), education, and usually social studies, in addition to two subjects they expect to teach. Normally, general science and a practical subject are further required for students preparing to teach grades 3–6 or grades 7–9. Students interested in teaching up to grade 2 do music-and-movement and art and craft instead. There are special courses for "personal development." Total course hours of all kinds number some 1500 in an academic year.

In a situation of continual financial inelasticity, however, the Board's power to promote development remains in many respects latent.

Respecting training in pedagogy for the high schools in particular, from 1954, when the first diplomas in education were awarded, to 1973 the University of the West Indies was issuing an average of 27 such diplomas per year, of which about half were being taken by Jamaicans. In 1972, diploma holders accounted for an estimated 22 percent of the graduates in the teaching service. Aroused by the implications of this statistic, the government proposed the institution in 1973 of an in-service diploma in education for non-trained graduates who were teaching. In this programme, vacation and other suitable periods are used over the space of a calendar year to conduct a training course equal in value to the pre-service diploma and with the advantage that students in the new course continue to discharge their full teaching responsibilities in the schools where they are employed. The pre-service

course has not, however, been abandoned; so the backlog of untrained graduates should diminish with speed. As a training modality, the in-service diploma possesses many virtues and may one day supersede the more leisurely pre-service course.

The deep involvement of the university's Institute of Education in teacher education at the primary and junior secondary levels has facilitated still further involvement. The open field was early childhood education. Perhaps 95 percent of the education of children between 4 and 7, when these were in schools at all, was taking place in Basic Schools held in private homes modest in the extreme, in church halls and community centres, or in some urban backyard under a zinc roof, where the teacher was a young girl waiting to obtain a better job or go on to college, or an old woman of the ancient dame-school species. In every case the proprietors of a Basic School would collect a fifty-cent piece or two from each child each week to help eke out a modest livelihood. It is among such people that the Institute of Education through the Bernard Van Leer Centre for Early Childhood Education and its Director, Mr. D. R. B. Grant, did some most imaginative work in teacher training and curriculum building. The basis of this was the formation of training staff themselves carefully oriented to the task of conducting short intensive residential and day courses for Basic School teachers, reinforced by on-the-job follow-up.

The Jamaican primary school has come to be an object of anxiety on the part of educated Jamaicans who know it. The government's special angle on the matter was shown in 1972 when a committee of educators under the chairmanship of myself was appointed to probe the primary system – to report on its adequacy as a base for secondary education, and to make recommendations as to measures that might be adopted so that the quality of primary education itself would be enriched and its function as a base for secondary education improved. We may let pass the suggestion that any misgiving about the primary school in its own right is somewhat beside the point. This belief the committee did not share anyway. However, the committee, after a detailed study lasting several months, prepared a full report.[6] The report, inter alia, exposed very grave weaknesses in the schools and the system, particularly the need for teachers who were qualified and professionally more *aware* and for consultant/support personnel who were efficient and dynamic.

It is perhaps reasonable to assume that these revelations may have in some respects tended to hasten the formation of the In-Service Teacher Education Thrust (ISTET). The aim of the programme is directly to reduce the number of untrained or partially trained teachers in the primary and all-age schools by training some of them on the job, and to improve the quality of instruction given by interns in schools. The programme is manned by a number of travelling supervisors, mostly part-time, and by education officers who

specialize in certain subjects of the training curriculum. These work through on-the-job contact with the trainees, week-end and summer interface, and correspondence. The courses are basic, take four years, and are intended to be equivalent to residential college courses. Recruits must have as entry qualifications five subjects at the level of the Jamaica School Certificate[7] (probably equivalent to grade 8 or 9) and two years' continuous teaching experience.

Basically the educational bureaucracy has not shown itself to possess the necessary flexibility in action on the teacher training front, despite well-spoken wisdom and well-meant activity on the part of many officers. Governments have yet to demonstrate belief in the need for action at any level to cut through the vicious circle of mediocrity that joins the school system and the training colleges, despite the presence in the latter of well-qualified persons. The Ministry of Education has recently published its five-year Education Plan, 1978-1983, in which much is said about teacher training. The desire to open up the lines of action is more than obvious, but too many new and vaguely differentiated approaches have to be directed by too few people. There is no clear priority placed where obviously one should be – for example, in expanding the production of better-educated secondary school graduates, a class of persons who have not been available to the teaching profession in sufficient proportions, especially in view of the inferior attractiveness of teaching as a career. There is no alternative to producing a veritable surplus of these, from which to make suitable new recruits.

The place of teachers in society has shifted over the years and with it some of their ascribed responsibilities. In comparison to professionals who are self-employed, their role as instruments is emphasized. As a mass of government-paid workers operating outside the corridors of power, their function tends to assume a passive character. This tendency will increase as central governments grow more assertive of a particular social philosophy.

Teachers no longer represent a political lobby that by influence exerted in the villages can, supposedly or in fact, corner votes in plenty for this or that party or candidate. Nor are they the only ones now with learning enough to write the village letters and bury the dead. If they have come a long way since the beginnings, they owe their advance largely to the vitality of a union of elementary school teachers formed in 1894. "Up to the year 1920 everything that was worthwhile for primary education had to be bitterly fought for and gained inch by inch."[8] Secondary schools belonged to a conservative association that was of little effect. With the speed-up of the process of democratizing secondary education, which began in 1957, and the breakdown of isolation of secondary teachers, the way was open for an amalgamation of the two bodies. The Jamaica Teachers' Association is the new body. It offers good protection to its members without provoking unnecessary confrontation with "management."

NOTES

1. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1900.

2. Derwent Cambridge, Principal of the Battersea Training School, London, 1842. Quoted by John Hunt in *Education in Evolution* (London: Paladin, 1972).

3. A socialist-oriented splinter group of the Jamaica Teachers' Association.

4. In 1972 the Institute merged with the School of Education, but its functions persist.

5. See *Report*, Conference on Teacher Training, July 1964 (Kingston: U.W.I. Institute of Education, 1965), pp. 19-28.

6. Known as *The Murray Report on Primary Education* (Kingston: Ministry of Education, 1974).

7. The latest metamorphosis of the Jamaica Local Examinations.

8. R. Murray (ed.), *J. J. Mills: His Own Account of His Life and Times* (Collins Sangster, 1969), p. 61.

3
The Jamaica Schools Commission and the Development of Secondary Schooling

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Early Sociopolitical Background

The economic history of the West Indies since emancipation deals for the most part with the decline of the sugar industry, the efforts made to rehabilitate the industry, the relative success or failure of these efforts, and the attempts also to diversify the economy.

Despite declining fortunes, the white minority retained political supremacy, and perhaps because of their uncertainty about their economic position they fought to maintain both political and social supremacy. To a significant degree, therefore, Jamaican society after emancipation was as much the product of slavery as it had been in the eighteenth century. The same social groups as were evident before were carried over into the free society. "Each class has been duly separated and left to work out their separate destiny."[1] The blacks still remained at the bottom of the social ladder. The coloured groups, who represented the middle classes of society, were beginning to vie with the whites for economic and political power. They were to be increasingly successful in gaining this objective as more and more white planters were forced to abandon their estates and return "home."

The distinction between black and coloured groups remained clearer, as the blacks tended to remain peasant farmers, small tradesmen, or landless labourers. The few who improved their position through education became ministers or teachers, and in these capacities could not hope to match the white or coloured groups in wealth or power. Education served more to

alienate them from their own social group than to secure for them admittance to a more prestigious group.

The ruling class tried to prevent the black population from achieving economic viability and indeed from acquiring any degree of political power. In 1865 only 1903 out of a population of 440 000 had a vote;[2] of that number only a tiny fraction were coloured or black. As late as 1907 the Legislative Council was composed of eight whites (including four Jamaican Jews), one full-blooded negro, and five coloured.[3]

This disenfranchisement of the black population rested on an educational test, since in 1884 it was estimated that only about one in twelve of the adult black population could read and write, while almost every adult white and four-fifths of the coloured people could.[4] The black masses were almost unrepresented and the whites and coloureds overwhelmingly overrepresented in the government of the island in relation to numbers. With political power effectively concentrated in the hands of the minority, the black population would be seriously handicapped in any movement for social and economic advancement. Twenty-four labourers from St. Elizabeth in a petition to the Crossman Commissioners accused the ruling classes of keeping them "close in the dark to their advantage, where they can hold their numerous power over us as subjects." They go on to state that "we are still oppressed under as slaves by the wealthy class, and be compelled to be under their satisfaction."[5]

It is against this background of declining fortunes and a survival struggle on the part of the ruling classes of Jamaica on the one hand, and on the other the reaction of the black masses to these efforts and their own attempts to improve their social, economic, and political status, that educational developments in Jamaica after emancipation must be seen.

The Origins of the System of Secondary Education

The thirty years immediately following the Morant Bay riots in 1865 was the formative period for the system of secondary education in Jamaica in the same way that the thirty years after emancipation was the formative period for elementary education. Secondary schools developed in Jamaica at this time because the decision-makers felt that the middle classes deserved and needed an education superior to that being offered to the poorer classes in the elementary schools, and because, with the decline in the fortunes of sugar, the majority of the white ruling class could no longer afford to send their children "home" to England to be educated. The system of elementary education catered for the lower classes, while the system of secondary education was designed to cater as exclusively for the middle and upper classes. The systems therefore were quite separate and apart from each other and reflected the main class lines of the society as well as the prevalent view of the nature of the society.[6] Where the stated intention has been to unify the

system, the apparent effect has simply been the provision of a bridge – slighly wider than previous bridges – whereby a larger number of persons may pass from one system to the other.

The most significant characteristics of today's system of secondary education were present at the time of its inception. Then as now the system was essentially élitist, catering for only a small percentage of the population. The proud boast "free secondary education for all" is shattered when the phrase "who pass the Common Entrance Examinations" is quite correctly added to it. The snob value attached to secondary education dies hard in any country where since its inception only a small percentage of people have benefited from it. Merely to have been to a secondary school has been enough to place a person squarely in the middle class. This has in turn led to the feeling that class and caste are more important than performance – a feeling that contributes nothing towards meeting the needs of a developing society.

Then as now the secondary system was representative of the vested interests – academic, administrative, economic, social, and political – and was geared to the ambitions of the middle and upper classes.[7]

The dynamic for secondary education came from the churches. As early as 1835, John Stirling, commenting on the missionary proposals for the education of the freed slaves in the West Indies, had affirmed that he could see no progress being made unless some "more mature education" went with the development of primary education. He suggested that day schools with boarding facilities should be established which would be open to those of *all* classes and colours who could pay a nominal fee.[8] But the missionaries with limited resources endeavoured to meet the more urgent priorities: elementary education for the masses, and teacher training to provide teachers for the elementary schools.

In 1837, the need for schools of a superior order was again stressed, this time by La'robe. He, however, unlike Stirling did not conceive of secondary education for all classes in the society. He pointed out the need for "Private Schools of a superior order in which the highest classes of the island could meet with liberal education."[9] This suggestion was to be prophetic of the future development of secondary education, but it was not until 1879 that any long-term plan was made to provide money for secondary education from public funds. In the interim, private schools for the middle and upper classes were sponsored by missionary bodies and private individuals. The Roman Catholics established St. George's College for boys in 1850 and the girls' school which is now known as Immaculate Conception High School in 1858.[10] By the 1840s the nonconformist missionary clergy were beginning to be concerned about the education of their own children. They were reluctant to send them to the schools of the Roman Catholics, whom they publicly ridiculed. It is also noteworthy that they do not appear to have been willing to avail themselves of the schooling they themselves were providing for the

children of the ex-slaves.[11] The attempt by the religious bodies to provide secondary education was thus motivated by their own personal needs as well as by denominational needs. The desire to recruit and train local clergymen provided further incentive, while the advantage of having an educated group among the laity was not underestimated. The Baptists had started to train native ministers locally in 1843; the Presbyterians are known to have been operating a collegiate school in Montego Bay in 1864; and towards the end of the 1870s the Methodists were able to launch York Castle High School for boys in St. Ann and the Barbican High School for girls in St. Andrew.[12]

The first sustained attempt by government as opposed to missionary bodies to provide a system of secondary education was made in 1879 by the Musgrave administration. Under the terms of Law 34 of 1879 the Jamaica Schools Commission, the body which was to be responsible for the administration of secondary education till 1950, was established and invested with the duty of providing "education of a higher grade" for "those classes of the community who would value it, if it were placed within their reach but whose means do not enable them to send their children to Europe for the purpose of receiving it."[13]

The men in the "lower" professions – teachers, clergymen, the less successful lawyers and doctors, clerks, and the more successful small farmers, many of whom were increasing their standing in the community as more and more small-settler crops were finding markets overseas -- these were the people whose sons and daughters were to be provided with secondary education: middle-grade secondary education as befitting their position in the middle grade of society.[14] Thus, as the missionary bodies had done before, the members of the island legislature were conceiving of secondary education as "middle-class" education. The new system of education was to be built up out of the dozen or so Trusts, endowments which had been provided for charity education for poor white children by public benefactors in the eighteenth century.

The Jamaica Schools Commission

The Jamaica Schools Commission was, under the law which brought it into being, a corporate body which could sue and be sued and could buy and sell property. It was an unpaid commission and was to consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and five members appointed by the governor and holding office during his pleasure. It was to meet at least every two months at a set place. Minutes had to be kept and an annual report submitted to the governor in Privy Council. The Commission could also make or revoke rules for effecting the law, it could receive property and funds for the purpose of the law, and it could raise loans.

The law provided that once the Commission had been established, the

property and funds of the Walton Free School in St. Ann should be vested directly in the Commission to be used to establish the Jamaica High School. This school was to provide a liberal education and promote higher education. The curriculum should include Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural science, and modern languages. It was to provide free education for a limited number of foundationers and was to be open to all religious denominations under the conscience clause. Private pupils were to be allowed. The Commission would appoint and pay masters and visit and inspect the school once a month. The Commission was to have definite powers over the school, governing the admittance and removal of scholars, the number of scholars and foundationers, the admission of day scholars, the discipline of the school, the course of study and system of examinations, the appointment and remuneration of examiners, the auditing of school accounts, and even the establishment of prizes and exhibitions.[15] The Jamaica High School was therefore placed directly under the control of the Commission; in the case of the other endowed schools, new boards of trustees would be established which would then constitute intermediary bodies. It was expected that the Jamaica High School would be fed by the most able pupils from the other schools and would form the apex of the secondary system. This school would be started and upgraded first and would receive an additional rent of £500 a year from the government. Gradually new schemes for the other endowed schools would be drawn up.

The idea of forming a commission to administer schools was by no means an original one. In this respect, a notable precedent was already in existence. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the British government had appointed commissions for the purpose of inquiring into and making recommendations for the improvement of existing educational institutions in England. The Newcastle Commission, the University Commissions, and the Clarendon Commission had inquired into and reported on elementary, university, and public school education, respectively.[16] Finally in 1884 the Taunton Commission was appointed to inquire into "middle-class" education, the bulk of which was being provided by the old endowed schools. The Endowed Schools Commission was appointed to carry out the recommendations of the Taunton Commission. When the Jamaica Schools Commission was established it was formed in the image of the English Endowed Schools Commission. Educational ideas and institutions originating in England often found new and strange homes in the colonies as well-meaning colonial officials and advisers attempted to extend the blessing of education to Her Majesty's subjects overseas.

In four years, the English Endowed Schools Commission published 317 schemes for particular schools, which, by charging fees and by carefully dividing the schools into three grades with different age limits and curricula, in effect provided the middle classes in England with a subsidized system of secondary education, thus underlining and reinforcing class distinctions.[17]

This procedure is similar in detail, if not in magnitude, to that followed by the Jamaica Schools Commission during the early years of its life.

These developments in England took place at a time when changes in recruitment for the army and civil service placed greater emphasis on education, when the landed gentry were becoming more conscious of the encroachments of the merchant class, and when the middle and upper classes as a whole had been challenged by popular working-class movements such as Chartism. Both Tory and Liberal governments felt impelled to pacify the working class and strengthen the middle class by devising and supporting a system of education for the poorer classes which would make them more efficient as factory hands or farm labourers and would keep them in their proper places. For the middle classes, a system was devised which would enable them to play their preordained roles in the middle reaches of society more effectively. This conception – that social class and status in the society was determined by birth, wealth, and to a lesser extent creed – found a close parallel in the Jamaican situation, except that in Jamaica the class lines had been further reinforced by the circumstances of colour.

Establishing the System

As defined by the law, the seven members of the Commission were duly appointed by the governor. The Chief Justice became the first chairman. Other members were the Superintending Inspector of Schools, the Attorney-General, a representative of the Anglican Church, and two representatives of the nonconformists. This in the main remained the pattern of composition of the Commission throughout the years of its existence. The prominent public officials gave weight and importance to the Commission, and the inclusion of representatives of the religious interests ensured their acceptance of this situation if not their active support.

The work of the Commission got off to a slow start, and as late as 1882 things were still at the planning stage. This situation changed with the appointment of Archbishop Nuttall, first as a member and then as chairman in 1883. Meeting behind the scenes with two or three members of the Commission, Nuttall would draft schemes and regulations and discuss curriculum, management, and finances of the schools and then present their drafts and findings to other members of the Commission in subsequent meetings for their approval.[18]

The Jamaica Free School (Walton) was first reorganized to form the apex of the education system as the Jamaica High School.[19] The school was removed from St. Ann and established at Hope, and by 1887 there were 43 boys on the roll. Many of the boys came to the school on Drax or Open Foundations. There were ten Drax Scholarships, which were reserved for boys from the parish of St. Ann under the terms of the Drax Trust, and twelve Foundation Scholarships, one for each of the other parishes.[20] In addition

there were weekly boarders' and term-boarders' scholarships which covered a part of the fees. There was keen competition for the full scholarships. In the case of the Drax Scholarships, the boys had to have a knowledge of Latin; this condition automatically disqualified all but the most fortunate who could afford private coaching or who were already in a secondary school. In the case of the Foundation Scholarships, it was the one boy in each parish usually nominated by the Custos who got the chance. Not surprisingly, the lower class had no opportunity of reaching the Jamaica High School, as the qualifications for entry were either the ability to pay the fees, membership of a higher social class, or some previous exposure to secondary schooling. The boys were in the main sons of solid middle-class families, as the sons of upper-class families continued to go to English grammar schools. This situation remained virtually unchanged when in 1892 the government started to award six scholarships annually under the new secondary education code, the winners of which would receive free secondary schooling. The very fact that they were open to pupils from secondary as well as from elementary schools precluded the possibility of any elementary school child winning an award.[21] Most of the boys, then, had parents who could "afford to give them a start in the world."[22]

Although most of the Commission's attention was directed to "the High School," which they saw as a first-grade school, schemes were drawn up for the other schools. Of the old Trust schools, Potsdam (the Munro and Dickenson Trust school) was developing as a rival to the High School. By 1890, Mannings, Titchfield, Rusea's, Manchester, and Vere schools had also been reorganized. All these schools except Vere and Potsdam were providing middle-grade education; Vere was at this time providing only elementary education, and Potsdam offered first-grade education. The Mannings, Titchfield, and Vere Trusts were also maintaining scholars at the High School. Some Trusts did not maintain a school at all but used the money to fund scholarships to other schools. Thus by 1895 the secondary system begins to assume a definite structure.[23]

The "middle-class" education provided through the endowed schools was designed to enable "the education of the middle class to keep pace with that obtained by the labouring class in the elementary schools."[24] Elementary education was seen not as a lever of social mobility for the working class but as a means of increasing the efficiency of prospective farm labourers. But the possibility of receiving advanced education through the system of scholarships to the Jamaica High School did provide some chance of upward mobility for the middle class.

Having fulfilled its immediate assignment, the Commission went on to fund a University College in connection with the High School and affiliated to London University. The Commission assumed responsibility for conducting the Civil Service Examinations, selling Trust land, issuing certificates of

efficiency to private secondary schools, and even drafting and guiding through the Legislative Council the Secondary Education Bill of 1892. As a result of these activities the Commission gradually changed from being a body concerned solely with administering a given number of schools to become the board of secondary education in the island.

Because the vocational opportunities open to graduates of the secondary schools were few, places in the civil service were keenly competed for, the majority of candidates being those graduates of the secondary schools whose parents did not possess the means to send them to England to train for a profession. It was the brightest products of the secondary schools who competed, and the Civil Service Examinations soon came to be used as a device for measuring the progress and achievement of the schools.

The university at Hope was intended to help some of these boys to train for the professions without incurring the expense of going overseas. It was felt that the local university would do much to "lift up education" in Jamaica, even though the boys who could attend university in England would be better off than those trained at home.[25] Nuttall attached great weight to the Jamaican university's having British status, through affiliation with a British university; and his thinking foreshadows that of the Asquith Commission, which was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1943 to inquire into higher education in the colonies.[26]

The Situation in 1911

In 1911 the secondary schools under the control of the Commission were inspected by His Majesty's Inspector of Schools, H. H. Piggott.[27] Piggott's findings and his subsequent discussions with the Commission are important in that they help to establish certain facts about the secondary system in 1911. Piggott found that the total number of pupils in the twelve schools he visited was 842, of which number 534 were boys and 308 were girls. These figures are equivalent to approximately one percent of the population of boys and girls of their age of all classes taken together.

This situation becomes even more alarming when it is revealed that most of these pupils, particularly boys, had not attended school at all until they were, according to Piggott, "too old to obtain the full benefit of the training to be obtained from secondary school"; the average duration of school life of the boys and girls who had left school the preceding year had been two and a half years. It would appear that the public at large was not at all disturbed by this fact. Secondary schools then as now were rated on the performance of a few high achievers. The low achievers or non-achievers fell by the wayside.

That many potential high achievers were failing to complete the course for financial reasons was considered by many, including the headmaster of the High School (known by this time as Jamaica College), to be a indication

that such pupils had not been deserving of secondary education in the first place and should not have been given a place.[28]

The middle-class families were clamouring at the doors of secondary schools, but they had no interest in getting any but their own children in, and ambitious working-class families had apparently become conditioned to seeing the pupil-teacher examination and the training colleges as their means of improving their lot in the world. Thus was established the two systems which recent legislators have been trying to unify.

Lower-class children could only aspire to secondary education if they could obtain scholarships. These were few. The most valuable prizes available – the Rhodes Scholarship, the Jamaica Scholarship, and the Sixty Pound Scholarship – were awarded at the end of secondary school and were clearly out of reach. Six scholarships, three for boys and three for girls, were at the time being awarded annually to candidates under 16 years of age who stood highest in the Honours List of the Cambridge Junior Local Examinations. Again this excluded the children of the lower class, since elementary schools did not prepare children for Cambridge exams. Fourteen scholarships of £10 a year for two years were being offered annually to children from public elementary schools who were under 12 years of age and who declared their intention of continuing their education in an approved secondary school. Competition for these scholarships was very limited. Since £10 could not cover the cost of secondary schooling for a year, only the better off could use them.

Other factors operated against the movement of pupils from elementary to secondary schools. It is more than possible that most lower-class parents were unaware of the existence of the scholarships. Even today parents in rural areas particularly tend to regard scholarships to secondary school as the prerogative of the children of middle-class parents.

In general, most children from elementary school who did get into a secondary school did so after their fourteenth birthday, when they had difficulty in coping with the new subjects offered in secondary school. In fact, very few pupils in boarding schools had obtained their previous education in elementary schools; even in day schools the proportion was less than 40 percent.

In addition to the government scholarships there were in existence a number of Foundation Scholarships. If these were added, Piggott estimates that 22 percent of the pupils in all secondary schools were obtaining their education free of cost and another 7 or 8 percent at reduced rates. Since the children of the poor could hardly hope to win government scholarships, and selection for the Foundations and Exhibitions usually either was dependent on previous superior performance in a secondary school or rested on the personal recommendation of a local chairman or Board of Trustees, the system operated effectively to exclude them. Money from the Trust funds was therefore being used to subsidize the well-to-do in "public" secondary schools.

Government was also giving a helping hand to the well-to-do by the payment of a direct grant of £700 to the Jamaica College and by the payment of a comparatively high rate of interest on the appropriated capital from the various endowments. The only other school then receiving a grant-in-aid was the Montego Bay Government Secondary School, which had received a grant of £360 for the previous year.

The differences in degree of wealth of the various Trusts also meant inequalities in the means available to the Trust schools. These differences, the policy of allotting grants-in-aid, and the policy of the Commission were instrumental in bringing about differences in provision and quality between the schools the effects of which are still being felt today.

Piggott also found a number of unqualified teachers, amounting to over 50 percent of the total, who were all products of the secondary schools and who taught in the manner in which they had been taught.

The Cambridge exams had been allowed to assume an importance out of all proportion to their value, and their requirements tended to dominate the curriculum.

Since the Commission had failed to sell government the idea that it should provide for secondary education, even to the extent that it provided for elementary education, the secondary system was still dependent on funds from endowments, churches, and fees. It was clear by 1911 that any improvements in the provision of secondary schooling would have to come from public funds, since by then most secondary schools were barely making ends meet. What the Commission had achieved during the first thirty years of its life was the acceptance of and commitment to the idea of secondary education for the few if not for all.

The Last Twenty Years

"It is impossible at present to contemplate the provision of secondary education for everybody' . . . we do not have the means to attempt it."[29] These words bring into sharp focus the overriding consideration of educational planners and policy-makers in Jamaica ever since the necessity for providing for secondary education from public funds was first conceived. A variety of other considerations have at different periods been influential in determining policy. None of these has been either as influential or as consistent.

The main questions which arise are: who then should receive it, and what should be the nature of the provision? In answering these questions, educators have not unnaturally been influenced by their perception of the social, economic, and political forces at work in the society at particular points in time, their conception of secondary education, and their personal values and attitudes.

The history of secondary education since 1911 has been a history of

attempts to improve schooling at that level and to admit more children. Government instituted a system of grants-in-aid under a regulation of 1920 which became law in 1924.[30] By 1940, 23 secondary schools recognized as first- or second-grade schools were receiving grants varying in amount from £ 98 to £ 1245. A few scholarships were also available to the Vocational Centres, the Farm School, and the Technical School.

During the last two decades, Jamaica along with other Commonwealth Caribbean territories has witnessed a tremendous upsurge of interest in secondary education – an interest which has been reflected in a fairly consistent policy of expansion in that field. This expansion has for the most part taken the form of an increase in the visible facilities of secondary schooling. The gradual increase in the number of free places to secondary schools, the building of new schools, and the expansion of existing schools have provided opportunities for more and more children to receive secondary education. These changes have been related to and influenced by the growth of national feeling associated with the achievement of political independence, the growth in understanding and consciousness of national needs and problems, and the growing acceptance of responsibility for meeting these needs and finding solutions to the problems identified.

With the achievement of the status of full internal self-government in 1957, the need for democratizing secondary education and expanding the facilities for "every type of secondary education to meet the growing demand for qualified personnel in every field of activity" was recognized.[31] The innovation of the Common Entrance Examination and the granting of an increased number of awards to the traditional secondary grammar and technical high schools were to be the main instruments for effecting greater democratization, while the number of places in these schools was to be increased to allow for an increase in enrolment of 160 percent over the ten-year period 1957 to 1967. It was recognized that even with this increase, which would bring the number of pupils in high schools and technical schools to 26 000 by 1967, only some 10 percent of the school population of 11+ years of age would be provided for, and consequently some children of secondary "calibre" would have to remain in the senior departments of all-age schools or in the New Senior Schools to be established in areas of dense population.[32] In the thinking of the educational planners of 1957, the vast majority of the children who would be left behind were "not of the high school type," but since these children as well as those of "secondary calibre" were destined to become "the workers and citizens of tomorrow," and since the country could not afford to waste its valuable human resources, the quality of education which they received should be improved. Efforts were therefore to be made to broaden the curricula for post-primary schools and departments and to provide for each unit a workshop, a modest science laboratory, a domestic science department, and a small farm project.[33]

Subsequent educational plans have sought to broaden and extend these ideas. For instance, the "New Deal for Education" prepared in 1967 makes mention of what is referred to as "a new philosophy" of education. The *new* philosophy as described in the New Deal is that the opportunity for the best education that the country can afford must be open to every child regardless of socioeconomic status.

It states categorically that the *new* policy is to destroy the class education established during the colonial period, when elementary education was provided for the "less privileged" children and secondary and university education was the monopoly of the ruling classes.

It affirms that education would from thenceforth be a unifying and not a stratifying force in the society. Pointing out that at that time (1967) less than 10 percent of the children aged 11 to 13 years were being given the opportunity to receive secondary education through the Common Entrance Examination, it suggests that the solution to the problem would be to increase the facilities for secondary education.

Several assumptions are implicit in these statements: that during the colonial period there was in fact a conscious philosophy of education; that this philosophy did not include equality of educational opportunities; that education was used consciously or unconsciously as a means of maintaining the class structure; and finally that by simply increasing the facilities for secondary education, the *new* policy of providing equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of race, colour, class, or creed will in fact be implemented.

In the years after 1967 a number of junior secondary schools have been built to provide three years of secondary education for children in the age group 12+ to 15+. Formerly a small percentage of these children were selected on the basis of the Grade Nine Achievement Test to receive a second cycle of secondary education in the traditional high schools. Since September 1974 these junior secondary schools have been extended to provide five years of secondary schooling and are now designated secondary schools. Three comprehensive high schools have also been established.

A more recent educational plan, *The Education Thrust of the 70's* prepared in 1973, introduces and describes other innovations, chief of these being the introduction of free secondary and higher education in September 1973. The new "thrust" was designed to deal with what the then Minister of Education referred to in his introduction to the document as "a crisis in educational achievement."[34] Details of the "crisis" are given in the document. It is claimed that at that time the high schools were admitting only 8 percent of the age groups they serve; that of 30 876 papers taken in the G.C.E. "O" Level examinations in 1972, only 15 433 were passed; and that of the nearly 4900 candidates only 1183 obtained passes in five or more subjects. Since the situation has not changed, the education system is clearly failing to create

the higher and middle manpower "critically needed in Jamaica for economic and social development."[35]

This, however, constitutes only one aspect of the present crisis. At the moment some 42 percent of the children in the age group 12+ to 16+ enrolled in school are in the senior departments of the 507 all-age schools, in which they cannot be said to be receiving suitable secondary education. More than 50 percent of the teachers in all-age schools are not trained. Whereas the average excess enrolment is 20 percent in high schools, 3 percent in technical schools, and 20 percent in comprehensive schools, it is 36 percent in all-age schools.[36] Whereas the pupil/teacher ratio in secondary schools is 25 enrolled students per teacher, in all-age schools it is 41 enrolled students per teacher. There is also a marked difference in the physical provision between all-age schools and secondary schools. All of the secondary, high, and technical schools have electricity, but some 46 percent of primary and all-age schools have none; 98 percent of secondary schools and all high and technical schools are equipped with sewers, while as many as 64 percent of primary and all-age schools are equipped with pit latrines. Poor conditions help to explain the relatively low percentage of trained teachers in primary and all-age schools.

The Common Entrance Examination has done little to change the social composition of the high schools. In 1974/75, 30 699 children entered for this examination; 27 were awarded scholarships and 4751 were awarded free places. In spite of various devices such as the 70:30 selection ratio instituted in 1962 to ensure that a reasonable percentage of awards went to children from primary schools, the examination continued to select for high schools a disproportionate number of those children who at 11+ have had advantages of regular, earlier, or superior schooling. These are overwhelmingly of middle-class origin. Many children now getting free places would in earlier times have paid fees.

A similar situation surrounds the 13+ examination for technical high schools. In 1974/75, of 15 448 candidates only 640 received awards. For those who are not selected by the 11+ or 13+ examinations, the Grade Nine Achievement Test constitutes the last chance to enter the prestigious high schools. In 1974/75, from 21 673 candidates entered for this examination, 1451 awards were made.

Under these circumstances it cannot be said that there exists equal educational opportunities for all children. As long as secondary education remains a scarce service, the ideal of equal educational opportunities must remain largely illusory.[37]

During the colonial period, when the best jobs and the highest professions were reserved for white expatriates and to a lesser extent white and coloured Jamaicans, there could have been little obvious need to provide secondary education for the black masses, who could not have aspired to these positions because of the barriers imposed by colour and class. Today with "independ-

ence" the need to educate Jamaicans to take the place of expatriates in government, commerce, industry, and the professions has seemed to indicate the need to extend the privilege of secondary education to the black masses. This does not necessarily imply or require a new philosophy. It can be argued that those few children of the working class who are now receiving a secondary education are in fact merely being conditioned by the educational process to accept the status quo and to be grateful for the opportunity thus extended to them to become middle-class citizens.

The evidence now being amassed by educational researchers working in areas such as that of concept formation would seem to suggest, further, that the fact of cultural deprivation militates against the lower-class child's benefiting fully from secondary education, as it exists at the present time, unless his experiential gaps have been bridged in the infant and primary school. Cultural deprivation is undoubtedly the main factor responsible for what Dennis Marsden refers to as "the statistics of working-class waste," which apparently go a far way to nullifying even changes specifically calculated to produce a breathtaking expansion of opportunity.

The history of secondary education in Jamaica has been a history of partial remedies, half-hearted reforms, and short-term palliatives designed to cope with an ever-recurrent crisis situation, the roots of which are deeply embedded in the society's past. The result has been a continuous shortfall between aspiration and achievement.

The problem of increasing or even maintaining the provision of secondary education has remained. In quantitative terms, the provision is inadequate for a developing country. What is provided is unequally distributed, and the examination results referred to earlier on in this chapter would seem to indicate that the secondary schools are failing in what most persons consider to be the main responsibility of the secondary system – to produce "graduates" with the necessary "O" and "A" Levels for a variety of purposes.

By failing to recognize or perhaps admit that the problems are immense, successive administrations have failed to achieve any significant success in solving them.

A lowering of standards and productivity seems to follow inevitably from democratization in education. The most significant problem facing administrators is that of deciding whether or not or the extent to which economic objectives will be compromised by further democratization; and if the overriding national goal is the creation of an egalitarian society, they must also decide the extent to which it is economically safe and politically expedient to sacrifice economic efficiency in the promotion of social equality. Other educational questions, such as what to provide, for whom, and with what resources, fall into place once the basic value questions have been clarified, enunciated, and generally accepted.

What is clear is that regardless of the decisions which may be taken about

secondary education, unless effective primary education is provided for all, the objective of equality of education will remain unachievable. Regardless of what is provided in the way of education whether for a social élite or an élite of ability, *all* children need and are entitled to some form of schooling beyond the elementary stage. All persons must be provided with an opportunity whether formally in school or informally in an out-of-school situation to develop a marketable skill. This is particularly important in a developing economy with few resources other than people.

The nineteenth-century heritage of negative attitudes to manual work of all sorts, of the disproportionate supply of grammar-school as opposed to technical and vocational places, of a hierarchical system of education reflective of class, of a Euro-central curriculum, of widespread poverty and unemployment has to be recognized, its effects analysed and taken into account in the conception and implementation of new educational planning.

Changes and innovation in education have in large measure come about in Jamaica through the response by administrators, religious leaders, and private individuals to real or imagined crisis situations. From the point of view of the vast majority of children in this country and their parents, from the point of view of the country as a whole, the education system has always been in a situation of crisis. The job of converting the education system from being the essentially conservative instrument it has been in the past and making it an integral and dynamic part of economic and social process and development still remains to be done.

NOTES

1. Memorandum presented by a small group of negroes from Kingston to the Royal Commissioners in 1883, in *Report of the Royal Commissioners* (1884).

2. W. J. Gardner, *A History of Jamaica* (London, 1909).

3. Fernando Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), p. 48.

4. Governor H. W. Norman, Despatch to the Earl of Derby, 8 February 1884.

5. *Report of the Royal Commissioners* (1884).

6. "The rich man in his castle,/The poor man at his gate,/God made them high or lowly,/ And ordered their estate." Originally the last stanza of the popular children's hymn "All things bright and beautiful," these lines embody the prevailing Victorian conception of social class.

7. Shirley Romain, in a recent study of the educational establishment, found that a sample of top Ministry of Education officials, members of school boards, and Jamaica Teachers' Association officials were mainly representative of big business and the professions and concluded that these agencies form a cohesive educational élite which she described as a bona fide oligarchy. See Aggrey Brown and Carl Stone (eds.), *Essays on Power and Change in Jamaica* (Kingston: Extra-Mural Department and Department of Government, U.W.I., Mona Campus, 1976).

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8. S. C. Gordon, *Reports and Repercussions in West Indian Education, 1835-1933* (London: Ginn & Co.).

9. Latrobe Report on Education in Jamaica, 1837, quoted in S. C. Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education* (London: Longmans, 1963), p. 226.

10. Frank Cundall, "Some Notes on the History of Secondary Education in Jamaica," in *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1911, p. 611.

11. Mavis Burke, "The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Contribution to Education in Jamaica in the Nineteenth Century (1833-1901)" (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1957), p. 179.

12. Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education*: Baptists, p. 275; Educational Return of the Church of Scotland, 11 February 1864, p. 78; Methodist Missionary Society to Taylor, missionary at Port Royal, 28 January 1885, p. 249.

13. See Cundall, "Some Notes," p. 604.

14. H. G. DeLisser estimated that in 1911 there were approximately 10 000 persons in Jamaica with incomes of over £1600, who constituted the upper classes. There were, according to his estimates, 231 000 peasants and working people, while the remaining 80 000 persons formed the amorphous middle class: H. G. DeLisser, *Twentieth Century Jamaica* (Kingston, 1912), pp. 53-54.

15. Jamaica Schools Commission, *Annual Report*, 1882-83; *Laws of Jamaica*, Law 34 of 1879.

16. W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1964), p. 126.

17. J. S. Maclure, *Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816-1963* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1965), pp. 92-96.

18. See *Diary of Bishop Nuttall*, 17 July 1882.

19. Up to the early 1890s the other schools were referred to as Free Schools. The word "secondary" does not come into general use until the mid-1890s.

20. Minutes of the Jamaica Schools Commission, April 1892.

21. An extract from a letter to the *Jamaica Post* in 1893 bears out this contention: "A poor man's boy has no chance of competing for this examination as boys whose parents can really afford to send them to York Castle and other such high schools are competitors for the vacancies when there are any. Is there any chance for boys of elementary schools?"

22. Headmaster's Report on Jamaica College, 1905, in Minutes of the Jamaica Schools Commission, 15 February 1905. The Headmaster illustrated his remark by citing the cases of two of his ex-pupils who had not risen in the world because their parents had not had the means to give them a start in life. One had become a tram-car conductor and the other a constable.

23. This system of graded secondary education bears a striking similarity to that recommended by the Taunton Commission in England, which had suggested that secondary schools might be arranged according to the social background and wishes of the parents and the age to which they were prepared to keep their sons in school. First-grade schools would keep the children to 18 or 19 years; second-grade to about 16, and third-grade to 14. The similarity between these suggestions and the system established in Jamaica by the Jamaica Schools Commission is too great to have been a mere coincidence. Barbados had also started a system of first- and second-grade schools in 1858.

24. Jamaica Schools Commission, *Annual Report*, 1888-89.

25. Letter, Nuttall to Simms, February 1886.

26. *University of the West Indies Calendar, 1971-72.* This Commission preceded the establishment of the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica in 1948 (affiliated with London University).

27. Cundall, "Some Notes"; H. H. Piggott, *Report on the Secondary Schools of Jamaica* (1911), p. 1.

28. Report on the Jamaica College, 1905, in Minutes of the Jamaica Schools Commission, 15 February 1905.

29. See the chapter on education in *A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967*, p. 39.

30. Mary Manning Carley, *Education in Jamaica* (Institute of Jamaica with the assistance of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., 1942).

31. *A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967*, p. 39.

32. *Suggestions to Teachers in Senior Schools and Departments* (Ministry of Education, Jamaica, January 1961), p. 1, Introduction.

33. *A National Plan for Jamaica, 1957-1967*, p. 39.

34. The Hon. F. A. Glasspole, now Governor-General of Jamaica.

35. *The Education Thrust of the 70's* (Ministry of Education, Jamaica), p. 1.

36. *Education Statistics, 1974-75* (Ministry of Education, Jamaica), pp. 9, 26.

37. Marsden Dennis, "School Class and the Parents' Dilemma," in Richard Mabey (ed.), *Class – A Symposium* (London: Anthony Blond Ltd., 1967), p. 35. This is despite the increase in expenditure on secondary education by the Ministry of Education from $5.7 million in 1968/69 to $16.8 million in 1973/74.

4
Some Later Developments in Secondary Education

Reginald Murray

As Ruby King has shown, the Jamaica Schools Commission governed the inner of the two tracks of the education concourse. It was a two-system system. In British Guiana the division was equally evident: the department of the Commissioner (later Director) of Education was in control of elementary education, while the principal of Queen's College directed the secondary sector. During the reforming 1930s and 1940s attempts were made in Jamaica to put an end to this duality by bringing secondary and elementary education under the same direction, but it was not until 1950 that a body – the Education Authority – was created for the purpose. Local conservatism continued to be reinforced by the superior reliability of the externally controlled school-leaving examinations.

If successes in the examinations are today any measure of high school efficiency, then either the teaching in the schools leaves much to be desired (and allegations to this effect are not wanting) or the common entrance selection is at fault. A third possibility is that the content of the school courses and the format of the examinations are both outmoded – in other words, the pupils are ahead of the system in modernity of outlook. The truth is that a society so class-divided could not all of a sudden be converted to comprehensivity, even supposing that the resources demanded by an adequate system of comprehensive schools did exist. The educational policies are still determined by a privileged class. At the time of writing, there is lack of any but an ambivalent readiness to call in the untutored masses, whose knockings at the doors may soon grow too strident to ignore.

In the early years, admission to the few secondary schools was by fees, while selection was regulated by the headmaster, preference being given to the children of "old boys" and persons of high social standing in the community. In addition to such entrants there was a handful of Foundation Scholarships which was augmented from time to time through the newer

philanthropic bequests. The Jamaica Local Scholarship examinations were reformed during the 1940s through use of modern psychological testing methods, but this did not change the picture very much. Many of the children performing best in the examinations failed to get admitted: they could not afford the attendant costs, which included fees.

The "old" secondary schools have continued to grow and to have the pick of the young brains. Although many of them have become bilateral, they have not been seriously affected by the idea of comprehensivity or by the introduction of Junior Secondary and, later on, New Secondary Schools. Large numbers of children of secondary school age still remain in the schools in which they received their primary education. Moreover, the preparatory schools still tend to guarantee entry to coveted secondary education, and no device has yet been found to redress the balance in favour of primary school candidates. Any such device would at once invite the envy of educators everywhere.

The picture of failure in the school-leaving examinations of the Cambridge Syndicate is somewhat dismaying; the hurt being sustained by so many thousands of young self-images cannot be good for character. Some indication of the picture as seen not very many years ago (1972) may be given if we put the total age cohort born in 1954 or 1955 and educable in ordinary primary schools at about 48 000 and assume that 5000 of these embarked upon true secondary education of some sort eleven or twelve years later. By 1970/71, 4000 would have attained a level equivalent to the fifth form, and 900 a level equivalent to the upper sixth. Less than half of this 900 would obtain the equivalent of two "A" Levels or more. This means that less than 10 percent of those who entered secondary education achieved two "A" Levels; out of every 100 children born in the country, the number achieving two "A" Levels was less than one. The figures are reasonable guesses – no accurate data are available. Actually, in 1972/73, 352 grant-aided high school pupils passed the "A" Level examinations in two or more subjects.

In 1954, public secondary school enrolment amounted to just over 8140 pupils; in 1956, to 9000. There were, in addition, a number of private schools of varying quality receiving no aid from the government. The great majority charged lower fees than did the grant-aided schools; they provided few amenities and they paid lower salaries to a much less qualified staff. A very rough estimate placed their total enrolment at 6000.[1] The administration of the day was not unaware of the unfair restriction on opportunity reflected in these facts. Within the civil service itself much pressure was exerted on the political arm to open up the routes to secondary education by the only means workable – an expanded scholarship and free place scheme. For years the scholarships tenable at grant-aided secondary schools and supported from government funds had remained at the following level: ten full-boarding scholarships reserved to the pupils of elementary schools; ten full-boarding

scholarships reserved to children resident in parishes without a grant-aided secondary school; ninety to one hundred scholarships awarded by the schools but financed from the government grant-aid.[2]

In 1955 the award of scholarships in the last category was taken out of the hands of the schools and dealt with by the Education Department, the number of boarding places was increased, and an island-wide screening – the Jamaica Local Scholarship Examination – became the basis of selection. In 1956 funds were released to enable the old total of 120 scholarships granted annually to be increased to 325. Provision was at the same time made for the award of 100 additional scholarships for children of 13 and 14 years of age. A novel provision of these awards was for a sum of money to assist, in cases of need, with the boarding expenses of a child in the neighbourhood of a grant-aided day school.

So far, expansion was gradual and piecemeal and was the result of initiatives arising within the Ministry of Education itself, from senior civil servants whose class loyalties did not coincide with those of an older establishment. From similar initiatives the contents of the ten-year education plan of 1957 took shape. The Common Entrance Examination was introduced, and, to a chorus of bitter resentment on the part of the privileged classes, the number of scholarships and free places was increased to 2000. Thus, by 1959 enrolment had expanded to 17400,[3] an increase of 113.7 percent in five years. Although the government did not respond to a proposal for a massive increase in science teaching, efforts were made to augment teaching facilities of all kinds in absolute terms and relative to increases in per capita enrolment. Woodwork, metalwork, art, and home economics rooms were added to many schools, and teaching fairly widely introduced in those subjects. In three years, 1956 to 1959, 43 science laboratories were built.

Meantime, a close watch was kept on primary school students' performance in the winning of scholarships and free places compared with the achievements of their preparatory school counterparts. Of 1995 free places tenable at grant-aided schools in 1959, 923 (48 percent) were won by children from primary schools. Of course, the matter became a warmly debated issue between the two main political parties. As F. E. Nunes points out, "The P.N.P.'s 1957 reform gave hope to all children, rich and poor alike. The end result, however, was a small trickle of public school children and a large flow of pupils from private schools."[4] The Jamaica Labour Party, when it gained office in 1962, without increasing the volume of scholarships, fixed the ratio between the two sources (the primary schools and the private preparatory schools) at 70:30. When their resultant anger subsided, the better-off classes decided to beat the system. This they did by well-known methods, such as securing primary school registration for prospective Common Entrance candidates actually belonging to preparatory schools. Nothing changed except in outward appearance.

The People's National Party regained power in 1972 and promptly sought an answer to the dilemma the previous government had exposed them to, by instituting an in-depth study of primary education to determine whether or not the existing system was constituting an adequate base for secondary education. No answer was found to the dilemma. The real question is one that socialists in every poor country have to face: how to remove *privilege* from secondary education without either on the one hand destroying preferred standards already gained or on the other hand spending all the resources available to make schooling not only good but also universally and evenly spread.

Wide importance is attached to the secondary school leaving examinations, which form the basis of entry to all third-level institutions. A candidate must present one or more "O" or "A" Level certificates, or some other(s) to be measured against them. Acceptance into a large number of potentially well-paid occupations also depends on the possession of such certificates.

There are serious issues about the supply and quality of teachers and the technics of curriculum and evaluation, problems which had been recognized for years before the Caribbean Examinations Council was called into being. Old-type secondary schools are traditionally better staffed if not always better equipped than the others: today over 66 percent of their teachers (principals and vice-principals included) are graduates, while in the New Secondary schools the ratio tends to be less than two graduates per school.

The educational unsoundness of the curricula of the old-type schools has long been remarked upon, and changes have from time to time been taking place. For instance, classical studies have long lost pride of place and in 1976 only 47 Jamaicans entered for Latin in the Cambridge examinations. (This compares with 61 Trinidadians and 102 Barbadians.) No candidate took Greek. Science, mathematics, and geography, English language and literature, West Indian history, and social studies form the core of the studies.

Change is being further accelerated by the new, and hopefully more humane, measures being proposed by the Caribbean Examinations Council, which is superseding the overseas syndicates. These measures will tend to eliminate the emphasis on failure. If, as is being proposed, teachers are actively involved in the assessments, greater degrees of realism should be introduced into the examinations.

Plans begun in the mid-1960s for upgrading learning environments and diversifying secondary education reached expansion peak in about 1968/69. Junior secondary schools were created with assistance from the World Bank. This expansion was achieved not by developing multiplier factors such as teacher trainers, teachers, and school supervisors, but by diluting standards through the effecting of primary teachers' certification and achievement levels far below the traditional. It was given out that the junior secondary schools would be the new-found mass elevators taking the youth to the

secondary high schools and on to the professions. In manning these new secondary schools, however, the government of the day adopted a course which left the total situation worse off than before – the best primary school teachers were simply drawn off into the new schools, to assume responsibilities for which they had had precious little preparation. So far, the circumstances have been only partially corrected through the introduction of secondary course options in the training college programmes. But these have not gone far enough; the circumstances demanded much clearer recognition of the special needs and potential of adolescents.

New emphasis must therefore be placed on the role of the teacher educators, for the primary school, yes, but more particularly for the secondary. Responsibilities for bringing up children both at home and at school long ceased to be simple, natural responsibilities which parent or teacher discharges by instinct alone. Everywhere we see teachers struggling with children's problems they sometimes do not even recognise. Everywhere we see teachers simply co-existing with their disadvantaged charges; they perform as well as they do, not because they understand these charges, but because of other constraints including, thank God, some positive ones that spring from love. Poverty, marijuana, teenage parenthood, homes with one or both parents absent and with under-developed expressions of authority and affection, drop-outs, youth counter-cultures with their confused if not repulsive life styles – these are some of the phenomena present in the situation. And as if these were not enough, witness, in some places, the strident political ideologies that clash within the teaching body itself, with violence on the school neighbourhood streets. It is understandable that the administrators of education should be calling for schools' guidance counsellors. It may be a matter for contemplation that they should not have asked teacher educators to take note. (Are not *school* teachers as a category always being put on their mettle?) And I am not at all meaning to suggest that teachers should be expected to cope with everything that occurs in the classroom. I know as well as everyone else that help through special expertise must sometimes come from the outside. However, when social disorder is manifesting itself in the school it is unlikely that the hurried creation of a class of social workers called School Guidance Counsellors will provide satisfactory relief. The experience of the U.S.A. is not reassuring in this respect. We are here concerned with symptoms of ailments in the body social that cannot be cured in the schoolroom alone and must be dealt with along the broad front. Schools must, therefore, for their part provide optimum circumstances for the present and future health of all their pupils. This can only come from a significant deepening of teachers' understanding of children and children's problems. We are beginning to generate this understanding only when teacher educators themselves have it and know how to impart it to the teachers they train. In the term teacher educators, I am, of course, including all those persons who engage in the educa-

tion of teachers whether in supervisory contacts or refresher and in-service courses, or in full time ones.[6]

NOTES

1. See Ministry of Education, *Annual Report*, 1958.

2. *1956 Report on Jamaica* (Kingston, 1957).

3. *Annual Report*, 1959.

4. "The 70:30 Education Regulation, Policy Making, Reactions & Consequences," *Caribbean Journal of Education*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1976).

5. Source of data: published results of the Cambridge G.C.E. Ordinary Level, June 1976.

6. Address by R. Murray, delivered at the Eastern Caribbean Standing Conference, School of Education, Cave Hill, Barbados, April 1977.

5
Objectives and Provisions for Agricultural Education: The Case of Colonial Jamaica, 1867-1920

Trevor A. Turner

Trevor Turner, now a lecturer in the School of Education, University of the West Indies (Mona Campus), taught high school in Trinidad and in New Brunswick and lectured at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He has been serving on a number of committees concerned with the reorganization of the University of the West Indies. His more recent writings are appearing in CARSEA, *a dynamic new journal emanating from the University of the West Indies.*

The education policy document currently providing the direction for growth in Jamaica's education system addresses itself, among other things, to "the severe lack of training in Agriculture as well as the need for orienting the students towards an understanding and interest in the country's most important productive sector."[1] In 1847, the British government advised its colonies that the education of the children of small farmers should include agriculture, bearing in mind the likely occupational destination of such children.[2] Within this 130-year span the school system of Jamaica has been continually called on to provide training and selection for agricultural occupations. This process of training and selection has been marked by shifts in approach and varying degrees of success. An examination of the objectives and provisions of some of the programmes within this process can help to identify the factors contributing to success or failure of agricultural training programmes within the particular social context of Jamaica.

It took twenty years before the Jamaican government responded positively to the advice of the British government. In the general reform of social institutions following the Morant Bay rebellion, Jamaica's education system was placed on a firm institutional footing by the 1867 Code of Regulations. The Code made provision for agricultural training by offering funds to schools

for industrial training, additional to the regular grants. Industrial training covered both agricultural and trade skills for boys and domestic science for girls. The Code specified that to qualify for such funds, the schools had to offer industrial training for three hours daily. A school involved in this scheme would not be required to collect fees from parents, as other elementary schools were required to do, but would receive from the government a grant equivalent to fifty percent of the merit grant to which it would be entitled as a first-, second-, or third-grade school.[3]

The response from managers of schools and teachers to this government initiative was disappointing. In 1870, only 1.5 percent of the grants to schools was given for industrial purposes, and in only six of the fourteen parishes of the island were industrial schools established.[4] One of the problems was a shortage of teachers skilled in the industrial areas. To rectify this, the government in August 1870 opened the training college at Stony Hill specifically for training in the conduct of industrial activities in schools.[5] As further incentive to skill training, the government in 1873 raised the grants and reduced from three to two the number of daily hours that a school needed to devote to industrial instruction in order to qualify for them. The effort at industrial training then increased, as reflected in the increase in industrial grants from £89 in 1870 to £586 in 1874, the latter amount representing 4.5 percent of the total grants to schools. But from there the effort declined, with only 1.9 percent of the total grants in 1877 going to industrial training.[6] At that point the government judged the experiment a failure and discontinued the grants with the exception of those for sewing.

But the government did not give up hope completely of stimulating private effort towards industrial training. It allowed for the creation of special industrial schools by offering grants to managers who would arrange to have at least half the instructional time in their schools devoted to teaching in agriculture.[7] Still no one came forward to take advantage of these grants, leaving the Inspector of Schools to admit that industrial schools would have to be established by the government as it was not likely that they would be established by private enterprise.[8]

Support for government provision of industrial schools came from the report of the Commission of Inquiry upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population, 1879. The Commission had been established out of concern for the neglected young people roaming the streets of Kingston. The hearings of the Commission revealed that many people regarded the idleness and unsupervised activities of these adolescents as a threat to the stability of urban society. The Commission recommended, as one way of dealing with the problem, the establishment of two industrial schools for vagrant and destitute children.[9] The government, lacking funds for such provisions, could hardly do more than arm itself with a law in 1881 giving itself the power to establish such schools. Not until 1891 did the government find it possible to establish

the first industrial school for boys. In 1892, a similar school for girls was opened. The majority of the boys were engaged in agricultural training.[10] The girls also had to do some agricultural work, but their training consisted mainly of domestic activities.[11]

This approach to agricultural training through specialized institutions had a greater degree of permanence than the first attempt through the elementary schools. In addition to its own two schools, the government prior to 1892 also provided some financial support to two industrial schools that had been established in Kingston by the Roman Catholics and to one that had been started by the Anglican bishop, Enos Nuttall, at Stony Hill.

Nevertheless, until economic forces at the end of the nineteenth century dictated otherwise, agricultural training remained at a low level of development. The government's efforts at raising the level of agricultural skills through elementary schooling had to face resistance from parents and teachers. Parents would not support the idea of having their children learn at school what they believed could be taught at home.[12] The school obviously had to offer more in order to help their children to be upwardly mobile, a point of view recognized and accepted by the government. The Inspector of Schools, in considering the problem of poor attendance, acknowledged that the "meagreness of past results produced by imperfect and erroneous systems" had not sufficiently convinced the people that the schools had anything to offer them. It was, therefore, he advised, the responsibility of the schools "to show conclusively and unmistakeably that the instruction imparted by them has a direct and most important bearing upon all the conditions of daily life; and that all improvements, moral, social, and pecuniary are the legitimate fruits of sound education."[13]

The reluctance of parents to have their children engage in agricultural activities in school arose also from the experience of slavery, which was still sufficiently close – most parents over the age of 33 in 1867 would have been born in slavery – to make them look with suspicion on any attempt to fit their children with the type and level of skills that would make them employable mainly for the sugar estates. The Inspector of Schools interpreted this attitude of the people as a distaste for manual labour,[14] but the increase in peasant free-holding and in the output of peasant production showed that there was no reluctance among the people to indulge in manual labour that enhanced, rather than limited, their independence.[15]

The opposition of teachers to agricultural training in elementary schools was evident from their attitude to agricultural work in their own training process. The principal of the government training college reported difficulty in getting students to enter into agricultural training with any enthusiasm; students either avoided the work or malingered.[16] This resistance of teachers is not surprising, seeing that they came at this time from the same socio-economic group as the parents and shared the same values and attitudes.

The Education Act of 1892 allowed for closer government supervision and expansion of elementary education. A Board of Education was established to help with supervision and to advise on changes in school regulations, while fees were abolished to give greater access to schooling. In this expansionary policy, efforts were revived towards stimulating the interests of school managers, teachers, and parents once more in agricultural training, and the Jamaican government in the two decades after 1892 became involved in the provision of facilities for such training at every level of the education system.

The first Revised Code, 1893, brought back agricultural grants to the elementary schools in the form of aid of up to £ 10 per school, the precise amount being based on the inspector's evaluation of the work done. At the same time the practical work was supported by theoretical study of agriculture as the syllabus of the elementary schools was extended to include elementary science.[17]

The next revision of the Code in 1895 gave more detailed directions in the ways in which agricultural grants could be earned. Schools, for purposes of agricultural grants, were divided into two classes in both of which the "Elements of Scientific Agriculture" had to be satisfactorily taught. The difference between them lay in the practical work. Class A schools were allowed to give their practical instruction on a very small plot of land or even in flower pots and boxes. This provided the incentive for teachers in urban schools to undertake some teaching in agriculture, however limited. Class B schools had to offer not less than four hours of practical instruction weekly, outside of regular school hours, on a fenced plot of land of at least a quarter of an acre in extent. In schools in this category, boys over the age of 10 had to attend practical work; attendance was optional for boys under 10 and for girls. Class A schools could earn from £ 1 to £ 3 annually, and Class B schools £ 5 to £ 10 depending on the quality of instruction and the number taught.[18]

The first reports of the operation of this new venture in agricultural training were not encouraging. Inspector of Schools George Hicks reported in 1896 that there was no serious attempt "to combine agricultural training with the ordinary school work, except by two or three schools" in his district and suggested that no major improvement could be expected until the teachers had received special instruction in that subject.[19] A later report supported Hicks's findings, noting that the neighbouring peasant cultivations were often better than that of the school, which was supposed to be providing the example for the community. This report put part of the blame for the poor performance of the schools on the unsuitability of the book being used for the teaching of the principles of agriculture.[20]

The government dealt first with the problem of a suitable text. The Board of Education prepared a two-volume reader, which it commissioned the London firm of Blackie to publish. The resulting *Tropical Readers* were made compulsory in Jamaican schools in 1898 and soon became of general use

throughout the West Indies.[21] Their introduction seems to have made an immediate improvement: the inspectors, reporting on the 1898/99 school year, noted that the results of the use of the books were already apparent "in the more intelligent way in which the children in the country schools answer questions in this subject" and that the book had "cleared off some of the fog from the minds of the teachers."[22]

The inspectors were, however, not as impressed with the standard of teaching in the subject. The most generous comment that one could find to say of the teachers was that "they teach a subject many of them have little or no knowledge of, as well as they can be reasonably expected to teach it."[23] The improvement of teaching, therefore, became a task that the government could no longer ignore if it was to take its own programme of agricultural training seriously.

The Mico Training College had been offering courses for some time in the principles and practice of agriculture and had been training teachers in the teaching of agriculture to fill the requirement of the Code for instruction in elementary science in the schools. The entry to the training college required a pass in science, including the first principles of agriculture, at the fourth-year pupil-teacher examination.[24] From there, students were taken through a three-year course offering fairly comprehensive instruction in agricultural science – knowledge of the composition of the atmosphere, water, soil, and plants, germination, plant nutrition, and use of manures – and equally comprehensive training in practical agriculture – types and uses of tools, preparation of soil for planting, transplanting, budding, grafting, pest control, and care of common Jamaican crops. But the teacher output of this training college was much too small to satisfy the needs of all 893 schools on the grant list in 1899; only 25 of the 34 third-year students passed the final examination in that year. At that rate, given zero leakage, it would require over thirty-five years to staff 800 schools with properly trained teachers of agriculture. The suitability also of the training of even these few graduates might be questioned. The Mico seemed to have taken a bit too far the requirement of the Code that Class B schools encourage "the cultivation of economic plants, not generally grown in the district."[25] The principal of the college, L. G. Gruchy, said in 1898 that the emphasis in the agricultural practice was on grape culture and a special instructor had to be employed to teach cultivation of that plant.[26] Grapes have never been an economic crop in Jamaica, their cultivation being largely confined to ornamental use in a few home gardens.

Faced then with both inadequacy in numbers of trained teachers of agriculture and questionable competence of those trained, the government had to turn to its own resources to provide the skilled personnel needed. It began in 1900 by supplementing the course in the training college with lectures on agriculture given by a lecturer from the Imperial Department of Agriculture.

This lecturer also took his talk to teachers in the country. The government followed up this action with a summer programme for teachers in the theory and practice of agriculture. Classes were held at the Mico Training College and practical work done at the Government Experiment Station at Hope in St. Andrew. Eighty teachers attended the course in 1902, which seemed to have had a strong academic bias; lectures were given in elementary physics and chemistry, animal life, plant life, and soils. Contact was kept with reality, however, by having planters address the participants on topics such as marketing, citrus cultivation, and dairying.[27] The government made sure that its provisions for such training of teachers would not be wasted by writing into the 1902 Code of Regulations a clause empowering the Department of Education to require, at its discretion, any teacher to attend the lectures given at centres throughout the country and the summer course.[28]

The lectures and courses seemed to have had the desired effect. George Hicks, in his report for 1903/04, judged that there was increased interest in agriculture by students and greater value in the lessons given by those teachers who had participated in the course. The wisdom of giving the course was to him "manifest."[29] Other inspectors found that performance in the subject varied. In some schools – the minority – there was evidence of good teaching, but in most the performance of the students showed all the old weaknesses of memorizing without understanding. But even the few good showings meant an improvement over the situation of five years earlier, which was unrelievedly poor. By 1905, Inspector of Schools J. R. Williams could claim not only that there were 100 schools with adequate school gardens, but that the attitude of the people to agricultural education had changed. He ascribed those developments to the programme of courses and lectures, which by that year had reached nearly half of the principal teachers.[30]

There was also some hopeful sign that the work of the school in agriculture was reaching out into the wider community. One report pointed to the vegetable industry that had sprung up in the Port Royal Mountains to the north-east of Kingston as the work and inspiration of the teacher of the Mavis Bank school, which was located in the general area. That industry was then providing jobs for workers previously employed on the defunct coffee plantations.[31]

The government continued in its attempts to improve agricultural instruction in the elementary schools by providing, in 1907, a special instructor to give advice to schools on practical teaching in agriculture and to evaluate school gardens. His services were particularly valuable that year, because the destruction of the Mico College by the earthquake of 14 January 1907 allowed only 22 students to attend the summer course in agriculture instead of a more usual 60 to 80.

Additional assistance was rendered to the schools in the development of their practical teaching by the agricultural instructors provided jointly by the

Jamaica Agricultural Society[32] and the Board of Agriculture.[33] These instructors were credited not only with improvements to school gardens but also with helping to change the attitude of parents to the teaching of agriculture in the schools.

The effect of these initiatives by the government was an improvement in the performance of the schools. One inspector reported for the year 1909/10 an increase in the number of schools with gardens in his district from 17 to 35; another reported an increase from 20 to 32 within the year. The teaching of the subject was considered to be satisfactory, and the claim was made that the schools had begun to have an influence on the neighbouring peasant farmers, as evidenced by the improved condition of the farms.[34] The grants earned by the schools for agriculture tended to bear out the judgment that the quality of agricultural practice had improved. The grants remained fairly static within the range of £44 to £47 between 1901 and 1904, but increased to £342 in 1907 and to £509 in 1909, and then doubled to £1176 in 1912/13.

The quality of work in the subject reached a plateau between 1916 and 1919; the grants for the former year amounted to £1476 and for the latter year £1559. The inspectors' reports bore out the levelling off of the quality of the work, and by 1920 they were suggesting a downturn in performance. The initial enthusiasm for gardening had worn off, and teachers were then, they reported, attending to gardens only for the briefest period necessary to earn the grant. Some of the reports indicated that the teachers had gone to the other extreme of the pre-1900 behaviour; where earlier inspections had shown the teachers to be concentrating on theory with little illustration of principles through practice, in 1919 the pattern seemed to have become much practical activity without the enlightening influence of theory, described by one inspector as "work, work, work, no lecture, no explanation, no observations, no questions asked or explained."[35]

As the standard of work continued to deteriorate, the government again intervened to arrest the decline. In the general reorganization and regrading of the school system of 1920, practical work in agriculture was taken out of the category of a special subject taught out of school hours and made an integral part of the work of the school. The grants for agriculture were accordingly merged with the normal salary of the teacher, special grants remaining only for supplies for fencing and tools.

Agricultural education of an elementary kind was also conducted in the industrial schools that were publicly aided under Law 34 of 1881. Before the intervention of the government in 1893 had rekindled activity in agricultural training at the elementary level, these schools were the only institutions to keep alive the effort at providing adolescents with agricultural skills. There were in 1895 five industrial schools in addition to the government reformatory at Stony Hill which did work of a similar kind.

The major agricultural training took place, expectedly, in the two boys' schools, Hope Industrial and Alpha Boys' School, and in the Boys' Reformatory. Through practical work in gardens the students were taught simple skills of planting, grafting, and use of manures and insecticides. They provided their own food to a considerable extent and sold to customers outside, the proceeds going to defray the cost of their maintenance. The boys in the Reformatory in 1895 produced over £ 200 worth of vegetables, fruit, and pork.[36] The boys at Hope Industrial School had the added advantage of training in horticulture given by the Superintendent of Hope Gardens next door to the school.[37] When the Hope Experiment Station was established in 1900, the boys over the age of 12 years from Hope School also had the benefit of instruction there. The industrial schools were all included in the scheme of training in agriculture that was developed by the Board of Agriculture.[38]

The government also revived the provision allowing schools to earn grants as special farm and trade schools. Following the withdrawal in 1878 of industrial grants to elementary schools, the government provided the opportunity for privately established farm or trade schools to be grant-aided. No one took advantage of the offer.[39] The government again presented the opportunity in the 1895 Code of Regulations for such special schools to exist with the help of public funding. The school, if registered for a grant as a farm school, had to offer elementary education of a quality that could earn it a grant as a public elementary school, but additionally it had to have "a fair amount of land under proper cultivation" and engage the students in practical agriculture for half of the regular school time. There is no evidence of any school management taking advantage of this provision, and the regulations seemed to have languished as did the earlier ones.

November 1896 can be used as the starting point for the development of higher education in agriculture in Jamaica. It was at that time that the government sent Archdeacon Simms, the principal of the Jamaica High School and University College, to the United States and Canada to observe and report on the operations of agricultural colleges in those countries. This was the first instance of government intervention in agricultural education beyond the elementary level.

The Jamaica Schools Commission, which had strongly supported Simms's visit, wanted to see agricultural education added to the curriculum of the University College,[40] but that proposal was a bit premature in 1897. Instead, the Commission had to settle for instruction in agriculture at the level of secondary education. With the tacit blessing of the government, the Commission embarked on the experiment of teaching agriculture at the secondary level in 1898. There was not much problem in providing for it. With the Jamaica High School under the direct management of the Commission, arrangements could be made relatively easily, and were incorporated in the regulations for the management of the school in 1898. Practical horticulture

and agriculture was placed on the syllabus of the school as an additional course, subject to appropriate staffing. To underline the seriousness of it, the course was limited to boys over the age of 15 years who had passed the Junior Cambridge Examination; they were exempted from Latin and some other courses. The practical teaching was to be done by the staff of the Department of Public Gardens at the nearby Hope Gardens.

These regulations were put into effect in 1899, when three boys began attending at the Gardens for eight hours weekly for practical instruction. But the school's management ran into the kind of objection from parents that had become familiar to managers of elementary schools. Parents preferred that their children remain in the regular course of the school to prepare for the Cambridge examinations. Nevertheless, the school persisted, and a few students continued to receive instruction under the scheme. When the Government Laboratory was transferred to Hope and brought under the control of the Board of Agriculture, students from the school took advantage of the facilities to pursue courses in agricultural chemistry.[41]

The only other secondary school to follow the lead of the Jamaica High School in agricultural training was the government-controlled and -financed Montego Bay High School. This school developed a marked bias towards science because of the interest and training of the principal. Arising out of the course in botany, experimental work in agriculture was carried on with the avid support of the principal on a two-acre plot adjoining the school.[42] However, aside from an interesting report that two girls from Wolmers Girls' School were attending the lectures in agricultural chemistry at the Government Laboratory along with the boys from the Jamaica High School, there is no further evidence of sustained instruction in agriculture at the secondary level in the period to 1920.

The Board of Agriculture through the facilities of the Government Laboratory did, however, provide some opportunity for higher agricultural training outside of the formal school structure. Courses were held for regular and occasional students, the latter being "sugar planters, estate book-keepers, and general agriculturists." The subjects offered included agricultural chemistry, botany, agricultural bookkeeping, surveying, and sugar production. A diploma was offered for successful completion of the course, but this meant, in addition to a pass in the formal course work, a year's residence on an estate or property.

The institution for higher agricultural education with the most lasting effect was the Farm School, which was approved by the Legislative Council in 1909 and opened its doors to 25 boarders in January 1910. The school was located on the Hope Estate, next to the Hope Gardens, with 1700 acres leased and animals purchased for its use. The institution took boys from the age of 15 at a fee of £5 per term or £15 per year with the object of giving a comprehensive training in tropical agriculture. That training extended over

three years and exposed students to a wide range of subjects, from the simple cultivation of staples and vegetables to the more sophisticated study of veterinary science.[43]

The increased tempo of activity in agricultural training in the first decade of the twentieth century was undoubtedly spurred by the wishes of the British government to see such training extended throughout the school system of the West Indies. In a circular despatch to the governors of the British West Indian territories, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, in 1899 directed that "every elementary school maintained or aided by the government should be required to set apart a certain fixed time every day for industrial teaching, such teaching to include girls as well as boys."[44] He used industrial teaching in the wide sense then commonly used to include both trade training and agricultural education.

This attitude of the British government to agricultural training grew out of general Imperial policy determining the relationship between England and its colonies. As British manufacturers faced more intense competition from their counterparts in Germany and the United States of America, Great Britain began to find the idea of a self-sufficient Empire more acceptable than free trade. Gradually colonial raw materials and markets began to look more economically favourable and politically secure.[45]

Joseph Chamberlain accelerated the shift away from a free-trade, laisser-faire policy to a mild system of Imperial preference. His first attempt to tie the colonies more closely to Great Britain in a customs union was too strong a measure for the British Parliament.[46] He was more successful in modifying the laisser-faire policy with milder action that respected both the wishes of British free-traders and the sensitivity of the protectionist Dominions. He appointed Imperial Trade Commissioners to assist in the development of intra-Imperial trade. He allowed colonies to borrow at preferential rates of interest on the London money market and strengthened Imperial communications by expanding postal facilities and subsidizing intra-Imperial cables. With some foresight, he recognized that if the colonies were to be vigorous trading partners, then more than just improved communications and trade links would be necessary. That vast, undeveloped estate that he held the Empire to be could be developed to the mutual benefit of Great Britain and the colonists if British capital and technology were applied to its resources.[47]

The West Indian colonies were among the first to gain advantage from this policy. In 1898, Chamberlain established the Imperial Department of Tropical Agriculture to carry out research into the best varieties of cane and to find improved methods of cultivation. The School of Tropical Medicine was also an outgrowth of this policy.[48] But his most important contribution to West Indian agriculture was his success in getting Great Britain to break decisively from her free-trade policy in 1902 and prohibit the import of cheap bounty-supported sugar. For the first time since 1870 the West Indian sugar producers

were able to compete successfully against European beet sugar in the British market.

While this policy of colonial development might seem laudable on the surface, it had limitations that severely affected education policy in Jamaica and other tropical dependencies. The policy sought to keep England as the industrial heartland of a vast, tightly knit Empire and the colonies as providers of the raw materials and consumers of the products of English industry. For such a scheme to work, the colonies had to be kept in a dependent and largely powerless position through economic, political, and military structures, and had to be led to accept and operationalize their subordinate role through the acquisition of appropriate skills and values.[49]

The political dependence of Jamaica was obvious from the working of the crown colony system of government. The elected members had no control over the key area of finance. They had to await the initiative of the governor for the raising of revenue; they could reduce expenditure in the vote on the Estimates but they could not increase it; and even in the case of their vetoing proposed expenditure, the governor had the right to override the veto by declaring the matter one of paramount importance.[50]

The economic structures that helped to lock Jamaica into the Imperial system as a consumer of British products are aptly illustrated through the response of the British government to the proposals of the Jamaican government to increase its import duties. When, in 1893, the Jamaican government proposed to increase its revenue by raising the duties on wine and tobacco, among other things, the British government refused to sanction the increase on wine and permitted the increase on tobacco to remain only if such an increase were matched by a comparable excise duty on tobacco grown and manufactured in the colony. The Secretary of State explained that a high import duty was against the principle of a good revenue tariff "particularly so when it would fall almost entirely on goods imported from the United Kingdom."[51] Another attempt by the Jamaican government, in 1897, to raise import duties was met with the response from the Colonial Office that import duties should not be increased without urgent necessity; reduction in expenditure should first be tried.[52]

The point that the colony should leave manufacturing to England and preserve its market for English manufactured goods was driven home by Sir David Barbour, who was sent by the British government in 1899 to examine the finances of Jamaica. He noted that a local match factory had taken the market away from English-produced matches, as indicated by the decline in import duties collected on matches, from £ 3215 in 1886/87 to £ 143 in 1897/98. He called for an excise duty to be placed on the local matches, raising their price to that of the imported product, on the ground that it was "unreasonable that the country should pay £ 3000 a year in order that a few private persons may carry on at a profit an industry resting on a purely

artificial basis." That the local business might be ruined did not bother him. "It would not," he claimed, "be a fatal objection to the imposition of an excise duty . . . that such a measure might cause the local manufacture of matches to cease."[53]

The British development plan for the West Indies as an agricultural adjunct to industrial Britain was given further shape by Chamberlain's directive to West Indian governments to expand the peasant sector of the economy. He advised the governments to increase peasant holdings through the sale of crown lands or the purchase and resale of private estates in order to create permanent settlements and to discourage squatting.[54] Any doubt remaining as to the place of the West Indies in the Imperial scheme of things was dispelled by the preamble to Chamberlain's circular on the need for agricultural training. He stated there quite bluntly that "agriculture is and must always, as far as can be seen, remain the principal industry of the West Indies."[55]

The role of the elementary school in agricultural training as far as the Jamaican government was concerned was the provision of a general introduction to the subject, a vocational orientation rather than specific skill training. The Superintending Inspector of Schools did not see much room in elementary education for the teaching of craft or agricultural skills; the main purpose of such an education in his view was the provision of basic knowledge.[56] When the government embarked on the encouragement of agricultural education through the system of grants and summer school training of teachers, he explained that the purpose was simply to give in the elementary schools the foundation for a future vocation.[57]

The government's plan for agricultural education at the elementary level was also designed to achieve two other objectives: one, to create interest and sympathy among the adult population for agricultural education in order to erode the old antipathies to manual labour and to the teaching of agriculture to children in the elementary schools; and the other, to train teachers for the new requirements respecting the teaching of agriculture. Inspector of Schools J. R. Williams explained that these objectives grew out of an evaluation of the earlier attempts at agricultural education. It had been found that the government's previous expectations regarding the teaching of agriculture at the elementary level had been too high given the prejudices of the mass of the people against the subject.

The Jamaican government's policy towards higher agricultural education grew out of the switch in the government's policy from education to agricultural development as the stimulant for economic growth. The government, after 1895, was faced with a stagnant economy, declining tax revenues, and growing expenditures.

A powerful driving force was needed to propel the economy out of its depression, and, spurred on by Joseph Chamberlain, the Jamaican government chose agriculture rather than education as the engine to do the job. The

governor's report for 1899/1900 made the policy clear; it was stated there that "the special attention of the government is and must be increasingly devoted to the improvement of the Colony's agriculture."[58] A substantial part of the government's scarce revenue resources were from then on directed towards the development of the agricultural sector. While expenditure on education was frozen at under £ 60 000 until 1910, funds were increasingly made available for services supporting agriculture.

What was even more significant about this policy was its thrust towards planter rather than peasant agriculture. Peasant farming consisted largely of the production of tubers – yams, potatoes, cassava – for the domestic food market and of coffee for export. But the government's initiatives were directed towards sugar and fruit production, making the upper-class planter community the main beneficiaries of the development programme.

The government began its shift in policy modestly enough by bringing its separate agricultural services, in 1900, under the one umbrella of the Board of Agriculture. This minor reorganization was designed to provide greater efficiency in the services, prevent wasteful duplication, and give the government and the farming community the benefit of the advice of agricultural experts.

An immediate step was taken to widen the market for the Jamaican fruit producer through the negotiation of a reciprocity convention with the United States of America in 1900. By this convention, the United States agreed to allow in Jamaican sugar, citrus fruit, and pineapples at a lowered rate of duty and to maintain the duty-free import of bananas.

More substantial government help to the planter community appeared in the government's repurchase of the railway in 1900. The private company that had bought the railway from the government in 1890 had been defaulting on its interest payments to shareholders, who included the government of Jamaica, and providing generally poor service. The government agreed to absorb the railway's debts of £ 154 445 that were immediately payable and proposed to sell bonds to the extent of £ 1 475 600 at 3½ percent to raise funds for purchasing the company. The British government provided a loan of £ 88 000 at 2¾ percent to pay the arrears of interest to the shareholders and another of £ 110 000 at 2¾ percent for railway improvement and equipment. All these loans would, of course, become charges on the general revenue of the colony. The primary intent of this outlay of public funds was to increase the capacity and efficiency of the railway to handle the fruit trade.

Under government management the railway did become more efficient. It consistently showed a surplus on its normal operating accounts, and a substantial portion of its earnings came from banana freight – 16.6 percent in 1910/11 and 20 percent in 1911/12.[59] However, against this rosy picture must be set the debt payments from general tax revenues, which in 1911/12 amounted to £ 35 260 plus sinking fund charges of £ 35 575. By 1912 total

borrowings by the government for the purchase and improvement of the railway had reached the considerable sum of £2 640 865.

Further development of other sections of the infrastructure designed to aid agricultural production went on concurrently with railway improvements. New roads and bridges laced the countryside tying remote districts to the railway stations. The Department of Public Works soon acquired the largest budget of all government departments. Much of the increase on public works was made necessary because of damage done to roads and government buildings by the earthquake of 1907 and the hurricane of 1912. Nevertheless, a significant portion of the expenditure went towards the development of new capital assets; in 1911/12, for example, £52 952 of the £203 632 spent on public works went towards the creation of new roads and bridges.

Another government bounty to the planter class came in the form of subsidized steamship service to expand the fruit trade between Jamaica and Great Britain. In 1900, the Secretary of State for the Colonies negotiated a ten-year contract with Elder Dempster & Company for direct steamer service between England and Jamaica "specially designed to buy and carry fruit." The British government agreed to subsidize the company annually to the extent of £40 000, the subsidy to be split evenly between the British and Jamaican governments.[60] The service began in 1901, and for the ten-year duration of the contract the Jamaican taxpayers maintained the annual commitment of £20 000.

Additional assistance to planter agriculture was provided by the British government's grant of £250 000 to the depressed West Indian sugar industry in 1902. The Jamaican government converted its allocation of £10 000 into a loan at 5 percent on crop security but added to that sum £20 000 from its own treasury. By 1903, £13 333 had already been distributed to needy sugar estates.

It is within this context of the development of planter agriculture that the government's intervention in agricultural training has to be seen. Training in agriculture at the elementary level was designed to produce desired attitudes in the mass of the people not only in terms of the development of their own peasant farms but also with respect to the labour that they were expected to provide on the sugar, banana, and citrus plantations. The government also recognized that higher skills in the subject had to be developed to satisfy the needs of planter agriculture. The Superintending Inspector of Schools noted that in keeping with the policy of providing only a general introduction to the subject in elementary schools, special institutions would have to be established for training older children at the higher level.

The government's approach to the provision of higher agricultural training was, [illegible], not as certain as its intervention at the elementary level. The sources from which students for higher agricultural training were drawn presented some problems with respect to use of the skill training facilities and

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retention of the skills. The courses developed by the Board of Agriculture and given at the Government Laboratory were directed specifically towards "the sons of the larger agriculturists of the island," but their interest and attendance proved disappointing.[61] An apprenticeship scheme for higher agricultural training based at the Hope Gardens drew its student intake from the lower class, but the graduates migrated with their skills to Cuba and Central America. Out of these failures grew the Farm School designed (according to H. H. Cousins, the Director of Agriculture) "as a frank attempt to cater for the middle class agriculturist of the island."[62] Its fee structure excluded the lower class, while the level of training offered was carefully trimmed so as not to be too attractive to the upper class. From this school, it was hoped, would come the plantation managers and government agricultural officers required by the new development policy.

The government, not unnaturally, received warm support for its agricultural development initiatives from the higher social classes in the colony. The Jamaica Agricultural Society, an organ of the upper-class planters, placed its imprimatur on the new policy, noting that old attitudes were undergoing change as teachers were being trained to regard work on the land as an occupation to be aimed at rather than to be held in contempt. The Society advised the government to maintain the education policy "not to make agriculture too theoretical, nor invest it with too much romance, but to link it with the hard manual labour which is necessary for success."[63] Landowners like J. P. Clark, the Custos of the parish of Manchester, and Arthur Levy of the same parish supported the attitudinal objectives expected of agricultural training in the elementary schools on the assumption that such training could be even more effective than the regular elementary education in teaching the lower class to accept their "proper sphere of life."

The relationship between the government and the lower class on the matter of agricultural training was less happy. Most of the reports prior to 1900 on the attitude of the mass of the people to agricultural training in elementary schools indicated strong aversion among the parents to such training for their children. Inspector Hicks, in 1896, identified two major factors that contributed to such opposition: In the first place, the parents had little confidence that their children would be learning anything from the schools' agricultural programme that could not be learned at home. Secondly, they suspected that the work of the children in the school gardens would go to the benefit of the teacher, a re-creation of slavery in modified form.[64] Inspector J. R. Williams gave much the same reasons to the Commission on Education, 1898, adding that parents were also concerned about the effects of work in the gardens on the clothing of the children, an important practical consideration in view of the fact that many students had just one good outfit of clothes suitable for wear to school.

The teachers who were directly involved in the training programmes and

who were in a position to know at first hand the feelings of the parents supported the observations of the inspectors. The Jamaica Union of Teachers noted that parents objected to agricultural training mainly because of the clothing issue. T. G. Somerville, an elementary school teacher, also testified to this parental opposition to agricultural training. His experience had shown that the people held the skills of the teacher in contempt as far as the teaching of agriculture was concerned.

Underlying this parental opposition was a major expectation that the people held of schooling. To many of them the school represented an escape route for the children from the poverty and drudgery of peasant farming and estate labour. As the Inspector of Schools had noted in the early period of educational reconstruction, schooling was only accepted by the people if it could serve as an avenue of upward mobility. Parents were therefore not prepared to see their children diverted from that promising road into what might be the dead-end street of agricultural learning. So the teachers were often faced with the assertion of the parents that "book learning and nothing else was what they had sent the children to school for."[65]

While the parents might have objected to agricultural training for their children in the elementary schools, this did not mean a blanket opposition to all forms of agricultural education. There was, in fact, a common pattern to all lower-class opinion on the subject: strong objection to agricultural training in the elementary schools but equally strong advocacy of some form of higher agricultural education. The people were quite aware of their continued dependence on agricultural activity and, accordingly, were prepared to support institutions that could enhance such activity. That was the position taken by labourers from Portland in their representation to the Commission of Inquiry into the Sugar Industry, 1896. Among other requests, they asked for the establishment of two or three government farm schools in each parish to teach the labouring class proper methods of working.[66]

Some teachers of elementary schools and teachers' associations also called for similar institutions.[67] Somerville, aware of parental objections to agricultural training at the elementary level, suggested instead a specialized agricultural institution serving several districts. J. R. Nixon, who described himself as an unemployed teacher, wanted an agricultural school in every parish teaching agricultural chemistry, animal physiology, and the cultivation of local food crops, in addition to secondary education subjects such as algebra and geometry. The scheme of J. A. Stewart, teacher of the Church of England school in Browns Town, was not as ambitious, but he also recommended an institution separate from the elementary schools for training in agricultural skills. He thought that thirty such schools scattered around the country would be about adequate to the needs of the people and within the budgetary limits of the government. The Jamaica Union of Teachers supported this position. Its official position was that elementary education could make

provision for the development of agricultural skills if it involved nothing more than simple demonstration lessons in pots or on a small plot of land adjoining the school. The Union advocated, for the full development of such skills, special schools catering to children over the age of 14, the graduates of the elementary schools.[68] Resolutions from member associations supporting this position appeared at almost every annual conference of the Union between 1905 and 1920.[69]

One consistently determined defender of the interests of the lower class, Dr. J. Robert Love, the black publisher and editor of *The Jamaica Advocate*, also placed his influence behind the establishment of special agricultural schools offering post-elementary training.[70] As the government began to expand the provisions for training in agricultural skills within the elementary school system, the *Advocate* came out stridently against the teaching of the subject at that level. Claiming that there was too much emphasis on agriculture in the schools, it charged that the government was pressing the subject onto the people against their best interests. Responding to a government appeal for greater interest in agriculture, the *Advocate* replied:

> It is rung in their ears "ad nauseam" that this is an agricultural country, and recently a very high official is reported to have said to a gathering of school children that we may "all have to go to agriculture." Whatever was meant by the term "all" it is safe to say that he did not mean either himself or his class. . . . Now every country in the world on which the sun shines six months in the year is an agricultural country and yet it is not deemed necessary to fix the minds of the young on nothing else but agriculture. . . . This trying to fix certain people in certain places is simply foolish. . . . Men are not going to be tillers of the soil simply because some other men demand that they shall be. They will turn to it and work it when they perceive that their interests will be advanced by so doing. Most of all they are not going to till other men's lands in order to enrich the latter whilst they gain nothing but abject poverty and dependence.

The *Advocate* did not stop at that. In a subsequent issue it invoked a conspiracy theory to explain the government's renewed emphasis on elementary agricultural training.

> It is evident to us that there are forces silently though diligently at work to ignore all the traditions and principles of the past. . . . The aim and tendency of these agents are to force agriculture into the common schools, and to force the children of the country into the fields and plantations of a master class and thus to create serfs of the soil for the benefit of selfish and dominating planters.[71]

The *Advocate* asserted that it was not against agricultural training but against any form of compulsory agricultural training in the elementary schools.

The *Advocate* was not alone in its suspicion of a racist or class conspiracy in agricultural training. The Jamaica Union of Teachers through its president,

G. L. Young, also voiced a similar suspicion. In his opening address to the annual conference of the Union in 1906, he confirmed the stand of the Union in favour of the teaching of the rudiments of agriculture in elementary schools as long as the practical work did not entail more than the simplest agricultural processes. But the Union was still against any attempt to divert effort away from "useful elementary education in subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, scripture, etc." and towards the advancement of "practical weeding" and other simple skills already acquired by the child at home. Young joined the *Advocate* in complaining that too much emphasis was being placed on elementary agricultural education and suspected that all the concern was being directed "to deprive the son of the peasantry of a more useful education." For this suspicion to be removed, he advised, all secondary schools should include the practical teaching of agriculture in their curricula in the same proportion as in the elementary schools. If agricultural training was not being used to deny upward occupational mobility to the sons of the peasants, then, he said, "if the cry is back to the soil, let it be heard in the Hall as well as in the Hut, in the secondary as well as in the primary schools."[72]

The Baptist Church, also generally representing the views of the lower class,[73] was similarly opposed to any undue emphasis on agricultural training in the elementary schools. Hearing that the government was considering the introduction of compulsory agricultural education, the Jamaica Baptist Union rendered a strong official dissent. Such instruction, the Union held, should always be optional in the regular elementary schools. But the Union, "not unmindful of the value of scientific agriculture," was not averse to the establishment by the government of a few agricultural schools at convenient centres, "in which agriculture as an art should be an essential part of the curriculum."[74]

Another institutional outlet for the expression of lower-class opinion appeared with the formation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in July 1914 in Kingston by Marcus Garvey. This organization through its manifesto also called for the establishment of institutions of higher education for the teaching of agriculture and the trades. Garvey hoped to set up a college in Jamaica modelled on Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. He planned to visit Washington at Tuskegee to get his advice, but by the time he arrived in the United States in March 1916 Washington had died.[75]

Much of the government's programme for the development of agricultural skills was, accordingly, carried out without the support of the major institutional agents that helped to shape and report the views of the lower class. Even while the government, for example, was training teachers for its programme of agricultural education in the elementary schools, the teachers through their associations were presenting resolutions to the J.U.T. asking for the removal of such training from the schools and its placement in special or continuation schools. The deterioration noted in the standard of agricul-

tural work of the schools after 1916 has to be seen in the context of this lack of enthusiasm among the people for the programme.

Agricultural education in Jamaica after 1892 was largely influenced by an Imperial policy that kept Jamaica, along with other tropical colonies, agricultural appendages of industrial Britain. Some attention had to be given to agricultural training at all levels to support the initiatives that were being taken in the agricultural sector of the economy. At the elementary level, the intent of agricultural training was more socialization than skill training. The government wanted to develop a more sympathetic attitude in the people towards agriculture and to make them accept with some measure of satisfaction the existing production relationships in agriculture, including wage labour on the estates. The people, however, did not share these goals and consequently gave little support to elementary agricultural education.

Nevertheless, most groups in Jamaican society supported the idea of higher agricultural education. They shared a somewhat vague hope that such higher training could materially improve the island's agricultural output. But aside from that, each social class looked to higher agricultural education to satisfy its particular needs. The middle class saw where it could provide them with the skills to make them employable in middle-level managerial and technical positions on plantations, in teaching, and in the expanding agricultural arm of the civil service. The upper-class plantocracy would welcome the chance to draw on a body of reasonably skilled agricultural technicians and managers. The lower class wanted access to a high-level institution to provide yet another avenue of upward occupational mobility. Unfortunately, this wish was frustrated by their lack of power in the society. The one institution of higher agricultural education that was provided was deliberately priced out of their reach.

The current approach towards agricultural education reflects a stronger commitment to the development of a commercially viable small-farming sector in that more emphasis is now being placed on training for commercial small farming rather than socialization for estate labour. The Ministry of Education in its policy document stated its intention to develop "experiments in commercial farming at Junior Secondary Schools (now the New Secondary Schools) . . . to demonstrate the viability of agriculture as a means of providing a reasonable and acceptable standard of living."[76] To initiate this policy the Ministry made a budgetary provision of $50 400 to establish eighteen farms at selected junior secondary, all-age, and high schools.

This training policy is complementary to the wider government policy for agricultural development which seeks in part to promote land use through a scheme of land lease to small farmers. Beginning in 1973 the government leased land for five to ten years from private owners for renting to small farmers. The small farmers were also supplied with credit for land preparation, planting materials, and fertilizers. In that year 2700 farmers were thus

placed on 4300 acres. Another variation of the lease scheme involved the long-term lease (49 years) of government-owned land to small farmers.[77] The intention is to expand the country's food production while creating the possibility of a reasonable, self-supporting livelihood for a large sector of the rural community. This requires, for commercial viability, not only government credits but also agricultural and business expertise on the part of the farmers; hence the need and provisions for popular training in commercial farming. This is an approach to agricultural training that is supported by the Jamaica Teachers' Association.

Like its predecessor, the J.U.T., the J.T.A. is against low-level agricultural training with its concomitant low motivation for agricultural activities. The current president of the J.T.A., Mr. Wilfred Titus, is reported to have come out for the teaching of high-level skills in terms of commercial agriculture with schools supplied with ten to twenty acres of farm land for this purpose. This, he claimed, would help to develop in the young people "a bias for agriculture" in a way that training for subsistence agriculture could not do.[78]

This approach to agricultural training with greater emphasis on commercial agriculture for independent small farming should find more favour with the mass of the people; it is closer to their traditional needs for training in skills above the level of subsistence agriculture, and it is supportive of their long-held desire to be able to make a decent living from the soil while maintaining their independence of plantation labour.

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18. *Code of Regulations*, 1895, pp. 19-20, 39.

19. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1895-96, in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 22 December 1896.

20. C.O. 884/6, No. 94, Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Papers Relating to Industrial Education in the West Indies*, Memorandum by W. D. Ellis.

21. Great Britain, Royal Commission on West India, 1896, Vol. 51, *Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix C, part xiii, p. 279; and Enos Nuttall, "Education in Jamaica in Its Relation to Skilled Handicraft and Agricultural Work," in Great Britain, Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. 12 (1905).

22. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1898-99, in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 15 March 1900.

23. *Report*, 1898-99.

24. Jamaica, Commission to Enquire into the System of Education, 1898 (hereafter cited as Lumb Commission – the Commission's chairman was the Chief Justice, Charles F. Lumb), *Evidence Taken*, pp. 22-23.

25. *Code of Regulations*, 1895.

26. Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, p. 23.

27. Great Britain, Parliament, *Accounts and Papers*, 1904, *Colonial Reports*, No. 414, *Jamaica, 1902-03*, p. 35.

28. *Code of Regulations*, 1902.

29. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1903-04, p. 11.

30. J. R. Williams, "Popular Agricultural Education in Jamaica," in *Journal of the Jamaica Agricultural Society*, Vol. 9, No. 11 (November 1905), p. 405.

31. *Accounts and Papers*, 1909, *Colonial Reports*, No. 607, *Jamaica, 1907-08*, p. 10.

32. The Jamaica Agricultural Society, founded in 1895, was, in the period under study, made up for the most part of large landowners paying an annual membership fee of four shillings. Its Board of Management for the 1910-13 triennium had, for example, Governor Manning as president and the Hon. C. J. Ward and one of the largest landed proprietors in the island, Sir John Pringle, as vice-presidents, while ten of the sixteen ordinary members of the Board were listed as banana and cocoa planters or stockbreeders. See *Journal of the Jamaica Agricultural Society*, Vol. 17, No. 7 (July 1913).

33. The Board of Agriculture came into operation in 1901 to bring under one agency the previously separate Department of Public Gardens, the Government Laboratory, and the then newly created Government Experiment Station. It also helped to coordinate the educational work of the Jamaica Agricultural Society. In 1908, the Board and the Department of Public Gardens were abolished and a Department of Agriculture with a director established. See *Accounts and Papers*, 1904, *Colonial Reports*, No. 414, *Jamaica, 1902-03*, p. 31; and *Accounts and Papers*, 1909, *Colonial Reports*, No. 607, *Jamaica, 1907-08*, p. 9.

34. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1909-10, p. 10.

35. *Report*, 1918-19.

36. Jamaica, Department of Prisons, "Report on the Boys' Reformatory at Stony Hill for the Year ended 31st. March, 1896," in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 10 September 1896, p. 174.

37. Jamaica, Department of Education, "Annual Report on the Industrial Schools of the Island for the Year ended 31st. March, 1896," in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 22 December 1897, p. 479.

38. *Accounts and Papers*, 1904, *Colonial Reports*, No. 414, *Jamaica, 1902-03*, p. 32.

39. *Report of the Inspector of Schools for 1879*.

40. "Report of the Jamaica Schools Commission for the Year ended 31st. March, 1897," in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 16 September 1897, p. 269.

41. "Report of the Jamaica Schools Commission for the Year ended 31st. March, 1899," in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 3 May 1900, p. 170; *Accounts and Papers*, 1904, *Colonial Reports*, No. 414, *Jamaica, 1902-03*.

42. H. H. Piggott, *Report on the Secondary Schools of Jamaica* (1911), p. 50.

43. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1912, p. 410. This school still exists today as the Jamaica School of Agriculture. In 1975, 324 students were enrolled.

44. C.O. 884/6, No. 94, Chamberlain to the Governors of West Indian Colonies, Circular, 11 March 1899.

45. L. C. A. Knowles, *The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926), p. 147.

46. William L. Strauss, *Joseph Chamberlain and the Theory of Imperialism* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), p. 102.

47. A. P. Newton, *A Hundred Years of the British Empire* (London: Duckworth, 1940), p. 294.

48. James Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 361.

49. For general illustration of this policy see George L. Beckford, *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); for more specific area studies see Keith Buchannan, *The Southeast Asian World: An Introductory Essay* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1967), pp. 74-82, and Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).

50. C.O. 137/566, No. 209, Blake to Ripon, 11 June 1895, enclosure: Order in Council Modifying the Constitution of Jamaica. The political powerlessness of the island was increased in 1900 when, as a quid pro quo of a British loan to cover the accumulated deficit of the Jamaican government, the British government restored Jamaica to full crown

colony status by requiring that the governor fill up the slate of nominated members in the Legislative Council, thereby enabling the official side to outvote the elected members on all issues. The elected members thereupon resigned in protest until after the 1901 elections. See C.O. 884/6, No. 92, Great Britain, Colonial Office, *The West Indies and Imperial Aid*, p. 10.

51. C.O. 137/557, Conf., Blake to Ripon, 13 November 1893, enclosure: C.O. Minute, Gov./20162, Jamaica/Conf., 19 December 1893.

52. C.O. 137/579, Conf., Blake to Chamberlain, 30 January 1897, enclosure: C.O. telegram, Jamaica/3687, 24 February 1897.

53. C.O. 884/6, No. 95, David Barbour, *Report on the Finance of Jamaica*, 1899, p. 16.

54. C.O. 884/5, No. 86, Circular, 26 July 1898.

55. C.O. 884/6, No. 94, Circular, 11 March 1899.

56. Jamaica, Legislative Council, *Proceedings*, 24 March 1897.

57. *Proceedings*, 18 May 1899.

58. Great Britain, Parliament, *Accounts and Papers*, 1901, *Colonial Reports*, No. 317, *Jamaica, 1899-1900*, p. 84.

59. *Accounts and Papers*, 1912-13, *Colonial Reports*, No. 739, *Jamaica, 1911-12*, p. 44.

60. Colonial Office, *The West Indies and Imperial Aid*, pp. 24-25; and *Accounts and Papers*, 1901, *Colonial Reports*, No. 317, *Jamaica, 1899-1900*, p. 81.

61. Jamaica, Legislative Council, *Minutes*, 23 February 1909, Message of Governor Sydney Olivier to Legislative Council.

62. *Minutes*, 1909, Appendix 7, Cousins to Acting Colonial Secretary.

63. Jamaica Agricultural Society, *The Farmer*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1904), p. 68.

64. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1895-96, in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 22 December 1896, p. 463.

65. Williams, "Popular Agricultural Education in Jamaica."

66. Royal Commission on West India, 1896, Vol. 51, *Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix C, part xiii, p. 416.

67. Although teaching in elementary schools provided an avenue of upward occupational mobility for a few from the lower social class, the majority of elementary school teachers at this time still fell into the lower-social-class category by ascribed status and income.

68. Various submissions to the Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, pp. 48, 65, 134, 252.

69. See, for example, Jamaica Union of Teachers, *Reports*, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1917, 1919.

70. Love was born in the Bahamas and studied medicine at the University of Buffalo. After serving for ten years as an army doctor in Haiti, he migrated to Jamaica in 1898 and founded his newspaper. He devoted its pages to championing the cause of the poor blacks in the society and later continued the struggle in the Legislative Council, which he entered as member for St. Andrew in 1906. See Stephen Hill, *Who's Who in Jamaica* (1916), pp. 231-32.

71. *The Jamaica Advocate*, 4 February 1905; 18 February 1905.

72. *The Jamaica Journal of Education*, Vol. 5, No. 12 (January 1906), p. 181.

73. Phillip D. Curtin, "Two Jamaicas," in *The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 163-67.

74. "Resolution of the Jamaica Baptist Union against Compulsory Agricultural Education," in *The Jamaica Advocate*, 25 February 1905.

75. E. David Cronon, *Black Moses, The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), pp. 16-20.

76. *The Education Thrust of the 70's*, p. 13.

77. Jamaica, National Planning Agency, *Economic and Social Survey Jamaica* (1973), pp. 129-30.

78. *The Jamaica Daily News*, 9 November 1976.

6
Objectives and Provisions for Trade and Technical Training: The Case of Colonial Jamaica, 1867-1920

Trevor A. Turner

Like the effort put into agricultural training – financial encouragement, teacher training, industrial schools – the attempts at trade and technical training prior to 1895 had very little success. The 1867 Code did include provisions for trade training along with those for agriculture. In addition, special provision was made for the training of the girls. A school could earn a special grant for sewing of three shillings for each girl registered in a sewing class for 144 hours per year.[1] But except for the sewing grant the grants for trade training were withdrawn together with the grants for agriculture in 1877.

The provisions for special industrial schools that were made following the withdrawal of the grants included trade schools. Such schools were to be encouraged to widen their syllabus to include manufacturing methods that would utilize local products, for chocolates, preserves, oils, perfumes, and medicinal drugs.[2] But like agricultural training provisions, these also remained unused.

Early in his tenure of office, Governor John Peter Grant had suggested that the boys' and girls' schools in Kingston supported by the Wolmer's Charity, which up to 1867 had been offering a general elementary education, should be reorganized as industrial schools for the children of the "working people, artisans, and petty shopkeepers" of Kingston, offering training where possible "in some branch of industry by which a livelihood can be gained." He was particularly interested in having the girls' school offer training in cooking, baking, and dairy and poultry management so that "the girls' chances of finding good places as domestic servants could be improved."[3] Unfortunately this wish did not materialize. Not only did the schools not offer the skill training courses that Grant wanted, but a regulation of the Charity denying entry to illegitimate children excluded most of the children that Grant wanted the schools to serve.[4]

The governor then attempted to enter the business of industrial training

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directly. Four model schools were established, controlled and financed completely by the government. As their name implied, they were intended to be examples to neighbouring elementary schools of excellence in school administration and teaching offering training both in literacy and in industrial skills. Unfortunately for the government, this effort also failed. Two of the schools had to be closed by 1870.[5] The principals, recruited in England, had difficulties in communicating with parents and students, and the attendance declined.[6] One of the headmasters, William Griffith, admitted that it was an impossible task to import teachers from England "ignorant of the manners, customs and patois of the Negro" and expect them to teach efficiently.[7] Another of the schools was closed in 1872 because of opposition of the planters to the headmaster, who had become entangled in parochial politics following his appointment as acting Custos.[8] A fifth model school established in 1870 in the town of Port Antonio showed the benefits that could be derived from such an institution under good local leadership. This school offered more in the way of industrial training than the earlier schools. A local headmaster, George Rouse, was placed in charge, and with two assistants to help in industrial training he made the school into what the government had desired all along, a model of outstanding educational work to teachers in the area.[9]

The industrial schools that the government later set up also offered courses in the trades. In the boys' school, training was provided in carpentry, tailoring, and masonry, occupying 77 of the 215 boys in residence in 1892, while a few others did courses in baking and in blacksmithing.[10] For the girls, trade training consisted largely of domestic work – cooking, cleaning, washing – and of needlework and bag making.[11]

Success in trade training was, however, limited to these industrial schools and to the one enterprising model school. While parent and teacher resistance curtailed agricultural training, employer indifference and artisan fears restricted growth in trade training. C. P. Lazarus, a mechanical engineer and owner of a foundry employing 100 workers, in his evidence to the Commission of Inquiry upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population, argued against industrial schools as prejudicial to the incomes of tradesmen, but he would support an apprenticeship scheme for boys 13 to 18 years of age.[12] Alexander Berry, a cabinetmaker and furniture dealer, supported the idea of an apprenticeship scheme which he would make compulsory. Employers might have preferred an apprenticeship scheme to a training school because the apprenticeship was more job-specific. The employee could develop on the job the specific skill required to handle special equipment or to work within the particular manufacturing process. In addition, apprenticeship allowed the employer closer control over the numbers entering his particular field and over the level of skill to be developed. He could thereby acquire the skilled employees that he needed while reducing the possibility of their being able to

leave and establish themselves in competition with him.

Quite naturally, artisans were the most concerned about the flooding of the trades by products of industrial schools. Men like William Lee, a cabinetmaker, and E. J. Goldson, a carpenter, favoured the idea of attaching boys to the estates rather than to trade training institutions because, in their view, there was no room in the trades. Later, landowners such as George Henderson and Edward Barrett, both elected members of the Legislative Council, warned that the government would be violating economic principles if it tried to establish industrial schools for trade training without first examining whether an increase in such skills would not depress artisan wages. They advised that the development of skills in agriculture would be more feasible.[13]

The dramatic increase in imports of clothing, footwear, and furniture tended to bear out the claim of the artisans that the market for local products was contracting as a result of the intensified competition from foreign goods, and that their sector of the economy could not, therefore, absorb an increase of trade skills.

The growth of skill training in the island was also hampered by the ambivalent attitude of the government towards the role of skill training institutions. While industrial schools were expected to develop certain skills, they were also designed to be socializing agents producing habits of industry, order, obedience, and discipline, and it was never clear just where the emphasis lay. It was the socializing objective that dictated that such schools be boarding institutions, an expensive process of schooling that limited the number of students that could be reached. The government got strong support for the socializing role of industrial schools from the churches and from the upper-class planters. Ministers of religion such as George Seargeant, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions, and C. F. Douet and W. E. Pierce of the Anglicans strongly favoured industrial schools for their supposed good effects on morals and discipline. Douet was especially firm on this objective, advising that children should be totally removed from their parents and placed in such schools in order to allow the socializing process to work more effectively.[14] Members of Jamaican upper-class society such as Custodes Henry Kemble of Kingston, James Fisher of Trelawny, and William Kerr of St. James and landowners James Harrison of St. Thomas and C. S. Farquharson of Westmoreland all spoke out strongly in favour of the industrial schools as instruments of socialization. With such ambivalence in objectives, the industrial school not surprisingly failed to play effectively its role as a skill training institution.

But possibly the greatest obstacle to the development of skill training particularly in the trades was the indifference of the British government. In England it was private enterprise that provided the stimulus for technical training in the period between 1870 and 1890. In the then prevailing spirit of laisser-faire the development of technical skills was held to be the concern of the private sector.[15] Despite increasing industrial competition from

Germany and challenges to agricultural production from the granaries of the newly opened American mid-west and from the fields of Argentina and Australia, Great Britain remained complacent with respect to government support of technical training. It was private enterprise that took positive action by establishing in 1878 the City and Guilds of London Institute with three objectives: to establish a central college for advanced training in science and its industrial applications, to hold examinations in technical subjects, and to create institutions for trade training.[16] The Institute soon got to work establishing schools. The first, Finsbury Technical College, was opened in 1883. The following year the Institute established the South Kensington Central Technical College to provide advanced training in science.[17] The livery companies, meanwhile, continued to contribute large sums to technical schools: the Drapers' Company to East London College and the clothworkers to schools in textile towns.[18]

This kind of private initiative and a persistent economic depression finally roused the government to a more active role. An act of Parliament in 1883, the City Parochial Charities Act, facilitated the expansion of technical training by allowing the London Parochial Charities to divert their funds from outdated activities to more modern and useful efforts. The City of London offered £1 million in matching grants from these funds for the establishment of polytechnics. This still did not mean direct government intervention in skill training. A royal commission on technical education had been appointed in 1881. Its report, presented in 1884, comparing English technical education unfavourably with European systems, led to further legislation in 1889. The Technical Instruction Act of that year recognized finally that technical education was the responsibility of the state. It empowered county and county borough councils "to supply or aid in supplying technical or manual instruction" financed from local rates. In 1890, the government for the first time invested directly and heavily in technical training. Under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, it directed the funds collected from an existing tax on alcoholic beverages to technical training. This "whiskey money" was quite substantial, amounting to about £500 000 in 1892/93 and almost £1 million in 1900/01.

With government involvement in technical training in England so late in getting started in what was the industrial heartland of the Empire, it would have been unusual for the British government to have shown much interest in similar training in Jamaica, its small agricultural outpost.

While in England private industrial and commercial enterprise, fearing loss of its competitive edge in world markets to Germany, led the way in making provisions for technical training and pushed the government into facilitating and later subsidizing development of the needed skills, in Jamaica the reverse was the case. The Jamaican government tried futilely to stimulate private effort in skill training, but the agriculture-based economy needed cheap

rather than skilled labour. The few manufacturing enterprises that existed obtained required skills through an apprenticeship scheme or on-the-job training of employees. With the small tradesmen also wary of training schemes that would increase the competition against them in an already constricted market, economic forces from all sides conspired to keep skill training at a low level in the period up to 1892.

The slight shift in the direction of vocational preparation given to elementary schooling in the 1890s affected trade training equally with training in agriculture. The subjects with a bearing on the development of trade skills in the period from 1893 were, in the elementary schools, drawing for all students, woodworking for boys, and sewing for girls; and in industrial institutions apart from the regular elementary schools, there was carpentry, masonry, tailoring, blacksmithing, and baking for boys, and sewing, cooking, baking, and commercial activities for girls.

The First Revised Code of 1893 provided the stimulus for renewed activity in trade training. The syllabus for elementary schools was modified by that Code to include elementary geometrical drawing. In the category of special subjects for which extra grants were paid, the Code made provision for the teaching of higher drawing. This additional grant could only be earned by students in classes above standard 2 (grade 3) and only if the teacher had been successful in the subject in the final-year examination of the training college. The Code also continued the provisions for the teaching of sewing to girls in all classes throughout the school. The school could earn for this subject a grant of three shillings for each girl who had completed the required number of attendances in the sewing class, and a bonus of £1 to £3 for really outstanding work in the subject. The minimum number of hours for the class were prescribed by the Code as at least one and a half to two hours daily, and not less than twelve hours monthly.[19] The teachers of these sewing classes were usually seamstresses from the districts and not trained teachers. They were able to add about £6 to their income annually from the grants earned by the sewing class.[20]

Provision for more specific manual training in the elementary schools came in the Second Revised Code, 1895, in the form of special grants for handicraft training. This, however, was just a start; no detailed regulations were given for the ways in which the grants could be earned. In the face of that shortcoming, the Code advised that grants up to £10 could be earned by any school which within the discretion of the Department met the intentions of the general regulation.[21]

The 1902 Code rationalized the somewhat confusing distinctions between elementary geometrical drawing and higher drawing by bringing them together into the regular work of the school. To these were added manual occupations defined as modelling in clay, paper, and wood. From all these activities together the school could earn a maximum of five marks towards its merit

grant. The place of higher drawing in the special-subject category was taken by advanced manual training. The school, as in the earlier requirements for higher drawing, had to have a teacher who had been specially trained in manual training, and it had to offer the advanced course for at least six hours per week (four being out-of-school hours) in a suitably equipped workshop. The class also had to reach a minimum size of twenty for the extra grant to be earned. The Department, as further incentive, promised an initial grant of up to £30 to help in fitting out the workshop and procuring tools.[22]

Despite the incentives offered, advanced manual training workshops were very slow in getting off the ground. By 1910 there were only six outside the Kingston area, one in each of the towns of Mandeville, Porus, Lucea, Falmouth, Port Antonio, and Browns Town.[23] These offered two-year courses for elementary school students in standards 5 and 6 in woodworking, mechanical drawing, and tool work.[24] The 1911 Code gave the Department of Education discretionary power to enforce compulsory attendance at such centres on boys of a certain age who lived within a reasonable distance of a centre.[25]

The work done in sewing up to 1898 was, in the opinion of the Superintending Inspector of Schools, quite unsatisfactory. The seamstresses from the villages who were employed as teachers did little more than engage the girls in a bit of practical work, he observed, but they were not competent to transmit skills effectively because of their lack of pedagogical training.[26] The 1902 Code tried to take the teaching of this subject away from the seamstresses and make it the responsibility of the trained teachers. At the same time, the government tried to extend the teaching of the skill by making it compulsory that sewing be taught in all schools that had a female teacher.[27] With the teaching of sewing thus made the responsibility of the female teachers, for whom additional grants were already provided, the special grants for sewing became largely unnecessary. The per student compensation for the teaching of that subject was accordingly reduced, and thus total payments for sewing declined from £4233 in 1898 to £1200 in 1910.[28] The increase to £3141 in 1912 arose from the restoration in 1911 of the original three-shillings-per-student level of grant.[29] In 1920, the grants for sewing, like those for agriculture, were merged with the regular salaries of teachers under the new scheme adopted in that year.[30]

Hardly more than sewing, drawing, and woodwork were offered as trade training within the framework of the regular elementary schools. The government, however, did make provision for the development of a wider variety of trade skills outside of that framework in its regulations for special industrial schools. These were separated in the 1895 Code into distinctly different trade schools and farm schools, but the regulations for the earning of grants were to apply to them equally. The government defined trade schools as institutions in which the pupils would receive technical instruction and practical training in one or more of the trades, or in which training would be

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given in the manufacture of local products such as fruit preserves, chocolate, tapioca, oils, perfumes, and drugs. Pupils were to receive, in addition to trade training, a normal elementary education, but one-half of their time was to be devoted to training in a trade and, in addition, they had to be apprenticed to the manager or teacher.[31]

These regulations for special trade schools and farm schools remained a dead letter in the Code. More useful as instruments for the development of trade skills were the trade scholarships which the government began offering in 1896. In 1895, the Legislative Council approved a scheme for the annual grant of five scholarships of a value of £25 each to boys who were willing to apprentice themselves to tradesmen. The scholarships in 1896 were granted on the basis of the results of the third-year pupil-teachers' examination to boys over the age of 14 who had applied specifically for the scholarships.[32] The age was reduced to 13 by the 1902 Code, and the selection process based on the second-year pupil-teachers' examination.[33] Along with notices of the scholarships, the government published a list of ten trades in which scholarship winners could be apprenticed. Boys could undergo training to become a carpenter, blacksmith, plumber, cooper, mason, wheelwright, house painter, saddler, shoemaker, or tailor. Tailoring and house painting were dropped from the list in 1902, but in 1918 developments in Western technology appearing in Jamaica were reflected in the addition to the list of machine joinery, motor engineering, and electrical engineering.[34] The period of apprenticeship varied from three to five years, but as from 1911 the Department of Education could require any of the scholarship winners to spend his first year or the first two years at a manual training centre.

In January 1898 the government opened the Kingston Board School, which was placed under the direct management of the Board of Education. This was designed to be an elementary school giving specialized instruction in woodworking as a preparation for trade training. It would take its students from the neighbourhood of Kingston and offer its facilities for the training of children from other Kingston elementary schools.[35] Its first principal was J. G. Peet, recruited in England. In its first year it had on roll 189 boys, 160 girls, and a kindergarten with 50 infants.[36] The curriculum was as prescribed in the Code for elementary schools with the addition that the school was treated as an advanced manual training centre giving two hours per week of instruction in woodworking to all boys in standards 5 and 6.

In the climate of economy in 1900 the girls' department of the Board School was closed, because it was found difficult to develop a programme of skill training for the girls with the funds available.[37] But the school expanded in other directions. As other manual training centres were established, they became associated with the school, with the principal of the school supervising and evaluating the work of the centres. The school also became affiliated with the City and Guilds of London Institute, thus affording teachers who

used the facilities of the school the opportunity to gain the Teacher's Diploma of the Institute for Manual Training.

The Board School was upgraded into the Kingston Technical and Continuation School in 1911, a product of the consolidation of the Manual Training Department, the Technical Department for boys, the Continuation School for boys and girls,[38] the Domestic Science Department for girls, and evening classes in technical, commercial, and domestic subjects. There were about 800 students enrolled in all the departments of the school at its consolidation,[39] and with this upgrading it became the trades equivalent of the Farm School, offering middle-level technical skills in the artisan trades.

The industrial schools continued, with slight changes, to offer training in artisan skills in the period after 1893. The most comprehensive of these institutions was the Government Industrial School and Reformatory for boys and girls at Stony Hill. This institution offered training in carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, tailoring, baking, and sewing in addition to gardening. The 185 boys and 35 girls in the Reformatory in 1904/05 and the 44 boys in the Industrial School produced together from these courses goods for the institution and for sale to private customers valued at £1509.[40] The other industrial schools had their emphasis placed for the boys on agriculture and for the girls on washing and sewing; but in those schools also the students developed skills in a variety of trades and were able to help defray the cost of their maintenance from their production of goods.[41] The closure of the Hope Industrial School in November 1910 made little difference to the output of trade skills from this source, because the 58 boys in residence then were transferred to the industrial school at Stony Hill.

One of the problems that had put a brake on the government's plans for the expansion of trade training in the 1890s was, like the situation with agricultural training, the lack of competent teachers. The acquisition of a principal with special qualifications in manual training for the Kingston Board School presented a solution to that problem. At the same time the course in drawing for students of the Mico Training College was extended to include, for first-year students, paper, clay, and wood modelling, and for second-year and (prior to 1900) third-year students, advanced drawing and woodwork requiring "a thorough knowledge of orthographic and oblique projection drawing and the use of all the ordinary carpenter's tools."[42] Practical training for Mico students in woodwork was conducted at the Board School, and, with the affiliation of the latter to the City and Guilds of London Institute, teachers were able to enter for the Institute's certification. By 1901, 21 teachers had passed the Institute's first-year examination and 12 had gained full certificates.

The Department of Education also used the Board School to conduct summer courses for teachers who had not had the opportunity for manual training in the teachers' colleges. These courses were held concurrently with

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those in agriculture. The teachers would attend the agriculture classes during the day and the manual training classes in the evening.[43]

Despite these provisions for trade and technical training, the Jamaican government never placed the emphasis on them that it did on agricultural training. To a great extent this grew out of the Imperial policy that maintained colonies such as Jamaica as suppliers of raw materials to British industry and consumers of the products of British manufacturing. The British government only gave ready support to technical training in the colonies where such training enhanced British control or facilitated metropolitan exploitation of colonial resources. The school for surveying and draughtsmanship established in West Africa in 1908 illustrates the point. Such skills were in great demand to help in the British commercial exploitation of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and African surveyors and draughtsmen could be hired for no more than one-third the salary of Europeans; so the school was quickly established offering tuition-free training.[44]

Jamaica, unfortunately locked into a dependence on plantation agriculture, developed little demand for technical training institutions. The level of manufacturing to meet local needs and export demand was very low. At the end of the century there were only 82 small manufacturing establishments in the island, excluding factories for sugar production and rum distilling.[45] Manufactured goods contributed very little to export earnings. Such goods were included among minor products in the export sector accounts of the Jamaican government. In 1899/1900, minor products earned £225 240, representing only 12 percent of the total value of exports; and of those earnings, a substantial portion came from minor agricultural products such as cocoa and ginger. The share of manufactures in total export earnings was therefore quite small. Even in 1904, after the hurricane of 1903 had considerably reduced the earning potential of the agricultural sector, manufactures could contribute only 8.7 percent of the total value of exports. Logwood dye accounted for £63 689, cigars and cigarettes for £22 408, and such items as turtle-shell products, lime juice and oils, wood products, hides and skins, and straw hats for smaller figures again.

Faced with such restricted internal potential for the development of technical skills and with little encouragement from the British government, the Jamaican government adopted a hesitant approach to trade training. Its rationale for the introduction of manual training in the elementary schools vacillated between skill training and acculturation in desired habits. The government used trade training for vocational orientation in much the same way as it viewed agricultural training. The Superintending Inspector of Schools stated the objective for drawing as the establishment of a foundation for all the industrial skills, teaching coordination of hands and eyes.

The Kingston Board School suffered from the same kind of uncertainty

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with respect to its objectives. It was not to be a full-fledged trade school, but an elementary school offering rudimentary industrial training to its more promising students.[46] The headmaster of the Board School emphasized this general vocational orientation, pointing out that the institution "was not to teach a trade but to train the hand and eye with a view to obtaining ability which could be helpful in any direction."[47] But as if fearful that such a vague skill objective would not be sufficient to earn for the school acceptance as anything more than just an expensive elementary school,[48] the headmaster went on to ascribe to woodworking the potential for the development of certain desirable values: not only would it help to train skilful use of the hand and eye, he claimed, but it would also develop the reflective faculties by teaching the student to look ahead to avoid mistakes. It taught also habits of close observation, concentration, and painstaking industry. Finally, woodworking developed the faculties of judgment and foresight, because "it was also a valuable peculiarity of that kind of work that the pupil was to a large extent his own judge – a piece of work was wrong, not because the teacher said so, but because the pupil himself could see that the thing he was making was not the thing he wanted to make."[49]

Despite the uncertainty in objectives, the government received general support from the higher social classes for its intervention in the area of trade and technical training. Most people in the middle and upper classes who commented on its provision regarded it as valuable for the eroding of undesirable work attitudes and for the supposedly beneficial effects that trade skills could have on the economy of the nation and on the economic welfare of the individual.[50]

But while the higher classes were supportive, the lower class was suspicious, questioning, and even hostile, particularly to the vocational orientation activity of the elementary schools. The attitude here was generally similar to the attitude of this class to agricultural training. The Jamaica Union of Teachers, for example, while admitting that schooling had done some good in turning the minds of the children to industrial occupations, objected to the introduction of such a subject as cooking into the elementary schools. Manual training came in for caustic criticism from *The Jamaica Advocate*. Claiming (mistakenly) that the 1902 Code had increased the marks for drawing while decreasing those for the three R's, the editor sarcastically observed that the "literary intelligence of the masses" was about to be curtailed "for the fixing of a few pieces of wood into crosses and squares."[51]

One reason for the opposition of the lower class to government-aided trade training arose from their fear of an effect on their income. One artisan, a carpenter, explained his objection on the ground that some of what was produced by the boys in their training would be sold, and the appearance of such products on the market might create a surplus, thereby depressing prices and

incomes. He also feared that the newly trained artisans might prove too competitive for the older established tradesmen. Another, a shoemaker, stated his support for extended teaching of shoemaking as long as restrictions were placed on the importation of shoes to provide room in the domestic market for new and old shoemakers.

But neither the Jamaican nor the British government was prepared to curtail the import of clothing and shoes as the tradesmen wanted. Textile imports increased from £417454 in 1899/1900 to £638331 in 1911/12.[52] Other than a few tanneries and some small establishments processing tobacco, logwood extract, and lime juice, there was no serious attempt at agro-industrial linkages. A fabrication industry built around the manufacture of tools for the agricultural sector could have been encouraged; a foundry that could have served as the nucleus for such an industry already existed.[53] But this would have been against British Imperial development policy; instead, an increasing number of tools were imported every year. In 1910/11, £285449 worth of hardware came into the island, consisting mainly of implements for the construction and agricultural industries. In 1911/12, the value of such imports increased to £304128, or 10.6 percent of total imports for that year.

The only area of skill training that the government seemed prepared to promote with any enthusiasm was in handicrafts. The steamship service that developed to serve the fruit trade brought an increasing number of tourists to the island.[54] A significant market soon appeared within the tourist industry for handicraft products such as hats, baskets, mats, and the like. The government noted, for example, that the £3119 worth of straw hats exported in 1904/05 did not indicate the full value of the trade, because most of the hats were bought on the local market by tourists.[55]

The government had several good reasons to encourage handicrafts. In the first place, the handicraft industry could be a valuable earner of foreign exchange, as the export figures showed. The industry was also labour intensive and, accordingly, could absorb many of the unemployed then roaming the streets of Kingston and other towns. Because it was a home industry, handicrafts could help to stem the dangerous drift of the unemployed into Kingston and at the same time contribute to the wider distribution of income; even peasants in remote districts could learn the skills and join in the trade. Above all, the products of this industry, whether sold locally or exported, would not be offering any competition to British manufactured goods.

Faced with severe competition from imports, artisans were forced to support the government's restrained approach to technical training in order to protect their small share of the local market. Those of the higher classes who were in favour of more vigorous action based their preference more on the supposed effectiveness of technical training in promoting desirable work

attitudes than on the marketable skills that could be gained. There was therefore no strong, sustained support for technical skill training from any quarter, and the government could, accordingly, remain satisfied with the few opportunities that it provided.

The provisions made by the government from 1867 to 1920 for skill training were directed largely towards the lower class – the peasants, estate labourers, artisans, and domestic workers and the unemployed. The upper class as owners of property and controllers of commerce had little need for the type of skill training offered. The managerial and high-level commercial skills that they needed were developed by schooling abroad or by on-the-job training in family-owned commercial enterprises or estates. Not surprisingly, they rejected the higher agricultural training provided specifically for them at the Government Laboratory.

Secondary schooling, which had been put on a proper institutional footing in 1879 with the establishment of the Jamaica Schools Commission,[56] provided preliminary training and served as the selection device for junior and middle-level positions in the civil service and commerce, and for the professions of medicine, law, secondary school teaching, and the clergy. But the annual fee requirements (ranging from £ 6 for day students to £ 45 for boarders), the testing process for entry, and the ascriptive selection of students based on race, colour, and family ties effectively made the secondary schools and by extension the civil service, commerce, and the professions the preserve of the middle and upper classes. The Farm School designed to cater specifically to the middle class reinforced this discriminatory process and further hardened occupational differentiation along social-class boundaries.

The provisions made by the government for agricultural and trade training in the elementary and industrial schools were not designed to offer upward mobility to the lower class but to produce a skilled, reliable, and industrious labour force working within the existing economic structures. But here the objectives of the government came into conflict with the wishes of the mass of the people for whom the provisions were made. They were seeking avenues of escape from unemployment, from low-income peasant activity, and from low-wage domestic and estate labour. The skill training offered did not promise to satisfy their need for upward mobility; consequently, the provisions, particularly those for agricultural training, either incurred their hostility or remained unused.

The census figures for the period 1891-1921 indicate little mobility across class boundaries or from lower to higher occupations. In fact the low-income occupations and the ranks of the unemployed increased in proportion to the total population over the twenty years. The following shows the various categories as percentages of the population:

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	1891	*1911*	*1921*
Professional	1.1	1.1	1.3
Commercial	1.8	2.4	2.4
Industrial	9.0	8.7	8.6
Domestic	4.1	4.6	6.1
Agricultural	42.4	32.6	33.3
Indefinite and Non-Productive (including unemployed and children)	41.6	50.6	48.3

The professional group remained relatively small. In any case, about half of those counted in the professional class were in the army, the police, and elementary teaching, occupations which by status and income placed their holders in the lower class though somewhat above the status of field labourers and domestic servants.

The commercial category consisted mainly of semi-skilled clerks, shopkeepers, market women (higglers), and store-servers. The increase in the category of domestic servants represented a doubling of the actual numbers, from 26 686 to 52 577. The fall in the proportion of agricultural workers, the vast majority of whom were general and plantation labourers, was about equal to the increase in the category of the non-productive; so the proportional decline of agricultural labour did not indicate an improvement in the picture of occupational mobility. The low emphasis on technical and trade training is reflected in a proportional decline in the industrial category, which contained the artisan and trade skills.

Skill training in this period, then, had negligible effect on occupational mobility; nor was it really intended to by the government. Like other aspects of schooling, provisions for skill training were carefully designed to reinforce existing social and economic structures and to promote the efficiency of the production processes.

Current policies have not departed completely from this systems maintenance approach. The recently established New Secondary schools in Jamaica offer terminal education to the majority of their students, with a local school-leaving certificate at the end. On the other hand, the traditional high schools continue to prepare students for the overseas G.C.E. examinations, the well-established passport to higher education and to upward occupational mobility. The graduates of the New Secondaries, trapped in low-level jobs, will no doubt watch with some envy and bitterness the rise of their colleagues from the high schools. Their frustration may lead to an explosive situation for the society.

Skill training programmes, to be successful, should provide scope for upward mobility along with employability. If these promises are lacking, the government may be wasting resources by offering such programmes. Facilities may be provided at much cost only to lie under-utilized if teachers are not

trained to take advantage of them or if the skills they are designed to develop do not meet the needs of the people. It should not be assumed that the present high level of social demand for schooling will ensure wide acceptance of all skill training provisions. In societies where labour supply and demand are determined largely by free market forces, the government that is prepared to allocate funds to the development of skills must take into account the state of the market and occupational preferences and prejudices of individuals.

There is hopeful evidence that these considerations are entering into the plans for vocational training. The Vocational Training Development Institute established in 1970 provides, for example, graduated programmes of teacher training in trade and technical subjects. The lowest-level programme accepts entrants with nine years of formal education and proven occupational competency determined by evidence of apprenticeship or basic training plus five years of industrial work experience. Student teachers are then trained in a six-month programme including courses in teaching methods, testing, course development, and shop organization. Successful completion of this course with an average grade of C qualifies the teacher to enter the programme for senior instructors. From there, the teacher can move up to training for the Supervisor-Administrator Certificate. The Institute ensures the employability of its graduates by the specific nature of its training and by accepting only those candidates who are destined for specific teaching jobs in technical schools, vocational training centres, and government departments.

In this manpower planning and training exercise the Institute works very closely with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, which is responsible for the vocational training centres. The mobility opportunities provided and the specificity of occupational destination ensure minimal wastage from this area of the teaching profession and maximum effectiveness in terms of use of the Institute's resources. There is even the hope that further upward professional mobility opportunities can be provided by the addition, at some time in the near future, of courses leading to a university degree.[58] If this type of careful planning of graduated programmes and of integration of manpower training with employment opportunities can be replicated throughout other skill training institutions, the government will undoubtedly find higher retention rates in the various occupations served by the skills, more efficient use of its training facilities, and more satisfied graduates of its programmes.

NOTES

1. Colonial Office Document (hereafter cited as C.O.) 137/427, Grant to Buckingham, No. 20, 9 October 1867, enclosure: Circular to School Managers and Teachers on the New Regulations of the Government with Regard to Elementary Schools.

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2. "Conditions for Building and Industrial Grants," in *The Jamaica Gazette*, 28 February 1878.

3. C.O. 137/424, Grant to Buckingham, No. 88, 9 May 1867.

4. *The Morning Journal*, 17 February 1874.

5. C.O. 137/458, Grant to Kimberley, No. 160, 31 October 1871, enclosure: General Report of the Government School Inspection in 1870.

6. *The Morning Journal*, 12 December 1871.

7. William M. Griffith, *Government System of Education in Jamaica, Its Staff and Model Schools* (1872), quoted in Vincent D'Oyley, "The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1835-1913" (Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1963), p. 225.

8. *The Falmouth Post*, 1 October 1872.

9. D'Oyley, "The Development of Teacher Education in Jamaica: 1835-1913," p. 259.

10. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1893, p. 204.

11. "Rules for the Shortwood Industrial School for Girls," in *The Jamaica Gazette*, 3 March 1892, p. 137.

12. Jamaica, Commission of Inquiry upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population, *Report* (1879), Appendix A, pp. 60-63.

13. Jamaica, Legislative Council, *Proceedings*, 10 October 1884.

14. Commission of Inquiry upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population, *Report*, Appendix A, pp. 84, 87-89, 98-100, 103, 114-15.

15. George Haines, *Essays on German Influence upon English Education and Science, 1850-1919* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969), p. 68.

16. Herbert Ward, *Notes for the Study of English Education from 1860 to 1902* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1929), p. 34.

17. H. C. Dent, *1870-1970: Century of Growth in English Education* (London: Longman Group, 1970), p. 46.

18. Ward, *Notes for the Study*, p. 35.

19. Thomas Capper and M. E. Sadler, "The System of Education in Jamaica," Appendix F, in Great Britain, Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. 4 (1901), pp. 594-95.

20. Jamaica, Commission to Enquire into the System of Education, 1898 (hereafter cited as Lumb Commission – the Commission's chairman was the Chief Justice, Charles F. Lumb), *Evidence Taken*, p. 1.

21. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Code of Regulations*, 1895, p. 20.

22. *Code of Regulations*, 1902, pp. 10, 28.

23. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1911, p. 325.

24. Enos Nuttall, "Education in Jamaica in Its Relation to Skilled Handicraft and Agricultural Work," in Great Britain, Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. 12 (1905).

25. *Code of Regulations*, 1911, p. 30.

26. Lumb Commission, *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 5.

27. *Code of Regulations*, 1902, p. 27.

28. Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1909-10, 1911-12.

29. *Report*, 1911-12, and *Code of Regulations*, 1911, p. 28.

30. *Report*, 1920.

31. *Code of Regulations*, 1895, p. 24.

32. *The Jamaica Gazette*, 7 May 1896, p. 464.

33. *Code of Regulations*, 1902, p. 40.

34. *Code of Regulations*, 1918, p. 40.

35. Great Britain, Royal Commission on West India, 1896, Vol. 51, *Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix C, part xiii, pp. 278-79.

36. Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, p. 28.

37. Jamaica, Board of Education, *Report*, 1900-01.

38. The Continuation School was for boys and girls over the terminal elementary school age of 14. They paid fees of ten shillings per term for day pupils and four shillings per term for evening pupils. See Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1912 13.

39. Great Britain, Parliament, *Accounts and Papers*, 1912-13, *Colonial Reports*, No. 739, *Jamaica, 1911-12*, p. 26. The enrolment in each department was as follows: Manual Training, 360; Technical Department, 53; Continuation Department, 172; Domestic Science, 169; Evening Technical, 20; Evening Commercial, 16; Evening Domestic, 9.

40. Jamaica, Department of Prisons, "Report on the Government Industrial School and Reformatory at Stony Hill for the Year ended 31st. March, 1905," in *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 8 June 1905.

41. See, for example, Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1909-10.

42. Nuttall, "Education in Jamaica in Its Relation to Skilled Handicraft and Agricultural Work."

43. *Accounts and Papers*, 1904, *Colonial Reports*, No. 414, *Jamaica, 1902-03*, p. 35.

44. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Jamaica Despatch No. 37, Harcourt to Olivier, 8 February 1912, enclosure: Proposals for the Establishment of a Surveying School, Nigeria, from Governor of the Gold Coast, J. P. Rodger, to the Earl of Elgin, 12 April 1907.

45. Among the 82 were 26 tanneries, 11 cigar and cigarette factories, 7 factories for carbonated beverages, one factory each for ice, soap, matches, logwood dye, and lime oil, and a few corn and rice mills. See *Accounts and Papers*, 1901, *Colonial Reports*, No. 317, *Jamaica, 1899-1900*, p. 28.

46. Royal Commission on West India, 1896, Vol. 51, *Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix C, part xiii, p. 278.

47. Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, p. 28.

48. The government had to be sensitive to criticism of the expense of the school, because the school's predecessors, the Model Schools set up by Governor Grant, had been heavily criticized for using expatriate headmasters and for being much more expensive than the elementary schools, while not offering anything more than elementary education. The headmasters of those schools were paid £230 per year each, while the average salary of the teachers of the regular elementary schools was under £40. See *The Morning Journal*, 18 April 1871 and 15 October 1874. The Board school in 1903/04 cost the government £904 for its maintenance, while the average cost of the regular elementary schools in that year was only £59. See Jamaica, Department of Education, *Report*, 1903-04.

49. Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, p. 28.

50. See, for example, Lumb Commission, *Evidence Taken*, pp. 28, 94, 97, 106, 107,

121, 336; and Jamaica, Legislative Council, *Proceedings*, 14 March 1892, 6 April 1892, and 24 March 1897.

51. *The Jamaica Advocate*, 18 February 1905.

52. *Accounts and Papers*, 1901, *Colonial Reports*, No. 317, *Jamaica, 1899-1900*, p. 27; and *Accounts and Papers*, 1912-13, *Colonial Reports*, No. 739, *Jamaica, 1911-12*, p. 9.

53. The West End Foundry owned by C. P. Lazarus. This establishment already had experience in the production of agricultural implements. A major part of its income came from the manufacture of tools and equipment for sugar estates. See Royal Commission on West India, 1896, Vol. 51, *Minutes of Evidence*, Appendix C, part xiii, p. 406.

54. The United Fruit Company, established in 1899, provided weekly sailings for passengers on its banana ships from Boston and Philadelphia to Port Antonio on Jamaica's north coast. Elder, Dempster & Co., which had been given the contract for carriage of mail and fruit between England and Jamaica by the British government in 1900, offered fortnightly service between Bristol and Kingston. The latter company also took over in 1901 two of the major hotels in Jamaica, the Constant Spring in St. Andrew and the Myrtle Bank in Kingston, and renovated them for the tourist trade at a cost of £30 000. See James Johnston, *Jamaica, The New Riviera* (London: Cassell, 1903), pp. 8-21.

55. *Accounts and Papers*, 1906, *Colonial Reports*, No. 492, *Jamaica, 1904-05*, p. 11.

56. Ruby H. King, "The History of the Jamaica Schools Commission – Its Role in Education in Jamaica, 1879-1911" (M.A. thesis, University of the West Indies, 1972).

57. *Census of Jamaica*, 1921, p. 7.

58. This information on the Vocational Training Development Institute was obtained from an interview with its principal, Mr. S. Dyer, held at the Institute on 15 October 1976.

7
Skill Training since 1920

Reginald Murray

The decades between 1920 and 1950 were marked by a search for vocational training modalities that would be suited to the circumstances of a poor people who were becoming increasingly self-conscious under a colonial government that was endeavouring to preserve the viability of the large sugar and banana plantations with their endless demand for cheap labour. There were scores of thousands of mini-farms too, under five acres in extent, and the young men whose ambitions were thus limited had to be taught simple facts about vegetables, root tubers, bananas, cocoa, coffee, and ginger.

The principal agricultural training institution was the Hope Farm School, which was opened in 1919 and later, under the name of the Jamaica School of Agriculture, removed to a more spacious environment on the southern plains. Originally, a candidate for admission to the Hope Farm School had to furnish evidence merely of being over 15 years of age and a certificate of good character from a minister of religion or a justice of the peace.[1] This put the school within the reach of the privileged dropouts from the prestigious grant-aided secondary schools. Having access to it also were the élite of the elementary all-age schools, provided they could pay the boarding fees – £6.6.0 in 1923 – or obtain scholarships.

The cream of the graduates, from their own resources or by coveted scholarships, might get admitted to the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. Established between 1919 and 1921, one of the objects of this high-level institution was to promote the study of tropical agriculture in suitable surroundings so as to create a body of British expert agriculturists well versed in the knowledge of the cultivation of land in the tropics, and of chemists and scientific advisers possessing an intimate knowledge of the means of combating pests and diseases and conducting research.[2] There was a three-year as well as a one-year course. It was this institution that was later to become the nucleus of the University of the West Indies School of Agriculture,

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and until this took place the crème de la crème of Jamaicans who had career interests in agriculture were trained there or in universities abroad.

The search for training modalities was most dogged and multi-directional in the sphere of the technical and industrial arts. To begin with, there was the one technical and commercial school located in Kingston to serve the entire island – a sort of tower in the midst of some eleven lesser manual training centres attached to schools in the rural parishes. The purpose of the school was quite clearly stated: it was to extend the education given in the ordinary public elementary schools and to provide special vocational training – technical and commercial for boys, and domestic and commercial for girls. Day and evening classes were held. The school also provided courses in woodwork and metalwork for boys and cookery and laundry and the like for girls selected from the public elementary schools in Kingston. The principal, in addition to controlling the work of the Technical School (as the institution came to be known), was for years attached to the Mico Training College as instructor in "manual training." He conducted classes in the subjects under reference and, as Organising Inspector of Manual Training, supervised and examined the work of the other manual training centres in the island. One of the proud boasts of the school was its affiliation with the City and Guilds of London Institute.

Just below the level of the Technical School and Hope Farm School were the Practical Training Centres for boys. There were three such; the first was opened in 1936. Parallel if less robust activities were also developed for girls. The concept is recapitulated for us while it was still being developed in 1936:

> Forty boys were selected from neighbouring schools between the ages of 15 and 17. No provision for boarding was made at the school, and it was necessary to provide means of transport for the students. The Centre is situated at an elevation of 3,000 feet in hilly country but well served by roads. The only practical means of transport was the bicycle, and boys living at any considerable distance from the Centre were provided with them. By means of this provision it has been possible to surmount the difficulties of attendance. Boys were also provided with an outfit consisting of a khaki shirt and shorts. Another feature of the scheme was the award of pocket money based on the satisfactory nature of the work done. The boys have been encouraged to place some of the money thus earned in the Savings Bank with the view to later purchasing of land or tools. The boys assisted in the erection of the school buildings and for the first few months were obliged to work under pioneer conditions. They were also set the task of converting a ruinate property covered with thick bush into a profitable cultivation.
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> That they have accomplished this, and that, within a year of commencement, they have assisted in the completion of the buildings, brought most of the estate under cultivation, successfully reared cows, pigs and rabbits, learned to make furniture, fenced a considerable portion of the property

with concrete posts and wire, established a Boy Scout Troop, formed cricket and football teams, and a Junior Farmers club, indicates a successful beginning. In addition, a few boys have learned tailoring and shoemaking. The main objective however is to develop good citizens who are generally handy and intelligent and able to earn a living by cultivating a small holding or by such forms of craftsmanship as are locally in demand. The boys are provided with a substantial but inexpensive midday meal, partly provided from their own creation. It is hoped that the Centre will provide intelligent cultivators, accurate craftsmen and will also supply to the Public Works and Parochial Boards lads whose better training will result in better service. It is intended to give a few boys who show special aptitude further education at the Farm and Technical Schools and to assist others to acquire small holdings or to obtain other posts. One further feature of the scheme – which is still in its experimental stage – is the system of encouraging Home Projects which are undertaken during the week-ends.[3]

As the years passed, while day boys remained a feature, boarding of boys from distant homes on a substantial scale became inevitable. Good as the attitudes to practical work undoubtedly were, the island shortage of academic school places swiftly induced the schools to offer courses leading to the pupil-teacher (later called the Jamaica Local) examinations through which many bright young men gained entry to school teaching and a number of other occupations somewhat remote from the more basic crafts. But this was not the direction in which criticism was running at the time of the visit of the West India Royal Commission in 1938–39 after the riots and strikes. Doubts at that time were that the Practical Training Centre courses were too elaborate, were not well suited to the needs of the island, and were competing "unnecessarily with the excellent facilities available at the Government Farm School at Hope." It was also the feeling of the colonial authorities responsible for the recurrent costs that the centres could not "by any conceivable expansion serve the very large class of peasant farmers, and in fact few of those who have completed courses there have returned to the land as independent cultivators."[4] Officials concerned with the centres advised the government that a direct means of converting former Practical Training Centre lads into independent farmers lay in linking the centres to land settlement.

The Royal Commission, which had looked with care into the question of landlessness in the West Indies and the apportioning of parts of local latifundia to peasants, was emphatic on the point that the nature and potentialities of land settlement were not sufficiently appreciated, and that the issues would continue to be clouded until orderly plans could be implemented, not only for settling people on the land in considerable numbers as small-holders but also for providing them with assistance in marketing, instruction in cultivation, livestock, and occasionally credit facilities. That was nearly forty years ago. The question of providing the instruction is still being debated.

As regards Jamaica, the Commission, understanding the restive mood the

society was experiencing (events at the time of writing appear to be the beginning of a painful denouement to the long-drawn-out act), reported that "swift development is contemplated and widely demanded in spite of the fact that many of the settlers will be entirely untrained in agriculture, apart from a comparatively short course upon which undue reliance appears to be placed."[5] This comment must have given a fillip to the idea of the Apprentice Farms and Student Farmers' Settlements, three of which were set up in connection with the Practical Training Centres. In about 1952, they contained a total of 75 student farmers and 29 apprentice farmers, these being young men who prior to selection as settlers had attended the centres. But even then, the abandonment of the settlements was being foreseen. The end came as natural death. Governments appear sometimes to suffer from premature developmental weariness, or, perhaps, ideologically the times were just not ripe.

So also the whole Practical Training Centre movement came to a halt. Jamaica had struck upon an imaginative and useful stratagem for wide-front agricultural skill training, but lacked the requisite statesmanship and will to pursue it. By the early 1960s the centres had been converted into Rural Technical High Schools conducting fairly conventional programmes.

Again, taking the year 1936 as a landmark, we find that practical education below the better-differentiated secondary level was continuing to occur in a few elementary schools with their manual training centres (twelve in all), domestic training centres, home projects, and agriculture projects (mostly based on the school garden). Also, in the greater number of these schools, training of a somewhat unstructured nature was given in needlework and handicraft. The resources of manpower and materials brought to these activities were often sparing to the point of absurdity, and although the total results cannot be wholly ignored, they certainly were less than modest. In 1956, the Jamaica Youth Corps was created as an effort in training in community living and service; it was designed for young men who at 15 or over had little or no prospects, being frequently illiterate and skill-less. Intensive farming with the ancillary skills was the basis of the one-year training provided.

Gradually, the process of tidying up the education system gained favour. Vocational subjects such as business and commercial education, technical education, and trades training came to be seen as legitimate activities in the secondary and post-secondary stages, diversified to meet the burgeoning needs of national development in the late 1950s and after.

The elementary school teacher was the kingpin of the whole agricultural skill delivery structure. He worked within and from his rural school, his first and legitimate base; he was the centre of the village branch of the Jamaica Agricultural Society, an all-embracing farmers' association founded in 1895. The Agricultural Extension Officer who visited the school garden regarded the teacher not only as friend but also almost as professional colleague. It was

largely through the imagination and initiative of a school teacher who later became School Supervisor of Agriculture that the Juvenile Branches of the Jamaica Agricultural Society were formed during the 1930s. The Juvenile Branches clustered round elementary schools.

Himself a subtle weathervane of certain class pretensions, a school teacher was often enough a man of the soil in origin who knew from his ascribed role how to enhance status through involvement in farming activities; however, he would almost always play the gentleman while the Adams and Eves of the village delved and span. As a Jamaican of negro ethnicity and a mouthpiece of parents, he could be offended when a brown-skinned country parson would urge poor peasants not to raise their children above their station and out of touch with the soil, to "let them begin where you began." He could be outraged too at the "back-to-the-soil" call of an Assistant Director of Education in the middle 1930s.[5]

Of teachers' children, who were then winning a big proportion of the few scholarships leading from elementary schools to grant-aided secondary schools in the years before 1957, few in their aspirations would have rated agriculture as high as medicine or law. Part of the reason was that there was no comparable profession of agriculture commonly understood. One might gain a B.Sc. and become an officer in the Department of Agriculture, or one could become an Agricultural Supervisor in the Department of Education. Even so, a young aspirant to a graduate profession could not reckon a career in agriculture among the real possibilities.

In 1940 the Juvenile Branches of the Jamaica Agricultural Society were reorganized as 4-H Clubs. The 4-H Clubs (Head, Hands, Heart, and Health) had come from the United States of America. They aimed at giving "to the youth of Jamaica practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, to help them put this knowledge into practice, to develop individual abilities, moral and intellectual character, and to train every member in good citizenship."[6] Again it was the elementary teachers who provided in the early years the major part of 4-H leadership and harnessed the schools of the country to the movement.

Always at the centre of agricultural training was the school garden, for a laboratory in an elementary school was a thing unknown. Simple theory directly reinforced practice. What perhaps was missing in depth and scientific precision of knowledge was made up for in utility. Food scarcity caused by World War II provided opportunity for schools to enter more realistically into the food production campaign, and whereas most school garden units were merely a square chain in area, now larger plots were taken up. By the early 1950s the "extended garden" as a type had become recognized, and at the end of the school year 1951 there were 284 of them among 700 relevant institutions.

In the evolution of vocational training modalities a variety of stages may

be found. The progression is both linear and branched, and what survives at any particular era has appeared to depend on a variety of changing factors. In the post-colonial era so far, adequate follow-through on the part of governments has sometimes been lacking. Consistency has been missing between one government and its successor. It has also been missing between successive Ministers even of the same political party.

It is true to say that, in the main, education policies since 1959 have been marked by the search for a pattern of diversification in secondary and post-secondary education in which skill training would be predominant. There are three lines of development:

— The post-primary section of the elementary all-age school has mutated successively into Senior Schools, Junior Secondary or Comprehensive Schools, and the recently established New Secondary Schools. Secondary High Schools are the true successors to grammar schools of a bygone era.

— The Practical Training Centres, the pride of the fading colonial twilight, have become Technical High Schools.

— Technical Institutes and Trade Training Centres are the survivals of the older training centres or new additions. The Jamaica School of Agriculture and the College of Arts, Science and Technology have been expanded and upgraded almost beyond recognition.

Finally, the "industrial schools," the name being an obvious euphemism, must be mentioned. As a type, these schools originated well over a century ago as a public response to the phenomenon of destitute and vagrant children.[7] The first was opened with government assistance by the United Presbyterian Mission. Others were in the course of time established by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. All of them were reformatory in orientation. The curriculum in the non-vocational areas followed the pattern of the elementary school, and by the 1950s the Stony Hill Approved School, which is government-owned, listed vocational offerings in masonry, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, mechanics, blacksmithing, joinery, cabinetmaking, handicraft, laundry, music, cookery, baking, gardening, livestock rearing, leather work, and weaving. At that time a total of 1295 youths were enrolled in the industrial schools of the island.

The New Secondary Schools, as Turner points out in the preceding article, offer terminal education to the majority of their students with a local school-leaving certificate at the end. Nothing in the curriculum of these schools is designed to encourage a change of attitudes in favour of technical/vocational occupations, and nothing to predispose the potentially creative and inventive minds towards self-employment. Such vocational guidance as exists stops short of promoting alertness to latent changes in the job market or the sophistication that is required of young workers in taking confident advantage of credit facilities either in cooperative enterprises or outside them. Few youths

have been exposed to continuing skill-development opportunities after leaving school. One of the difficulties is the antipathy of Jamaicans to any full-blooded apprenticeship as may be known in other countries.

Furthermore, too little has been done on a broad popular basis to advance the cause of science as support for technological progress. The old grant-aided secondary schools remain only peripherally affected by developments in vocational education. A glance at recent figures showing numbers of candidates taking "O" Level examinations, broken down by subject, indicates a genteel disdain for the practical arts and reveals how distant these schools are from serious involvement in technical and vocational interests.

It is no mystery that from one generation to another agriculture should have played so small a part in the aspirations of the young. Yet few of the traditional comments, official and non-official, about this disdain for farming really go to the heart of the matter. The allusion to slavery is threadbare. Where encouragement of interest in this sphere was attempted, it was by the wrong persons, for the wrong reasons, and by inadequate methods. In the early years of the century it was Imperial trade interests that dictated that science and technical subjects should be promoted in the education of the West Indian colonies. For the worker in cane, there was never the offer of something new, no promise of change from constant drudgery, poverty, and feelings of inferiority. Given the social structure of opportunities, what did one remote new school or college bring but confirmation of the status quo? In fact the elementary schools, which the masses knew and trusted, remained untouched by science, as did the training colleges for the teachers. Agriculture in the Jamaican context has never since the demise of sugar and slavery been a frontier obviously waiting to be pioneered, and the West Indian has not shown himself to be a natural frontier man. In any case, lands have been scarce, technology poor, and rewards spasmodic and grudging.

Teacher education in technical/vocational areas should be put on a much broader basis. Formal study of education at the University of the West Indies and the teachers' colleges, together with laudable efforts at curriculum development, have still steered clear of serious involvement with technical/vocational skill training. A method of marrying high pedagogical expertise in these institutions with the skills to which the College of Arts, Science and Technology and the allied institutions are dedicated has yet to be invented. The plans of the Vocational Training Development Institute, described at the end of Turner's article, nevertheless show promise in attacking the problem from a different direction: that is, by setting forth a reasonably rewarding career path in teaching for those whose skills have been developed in successful work experience.

In the ambitious five-year education plan recently launched by the Jamaica Ministry of Education, pride of place is accorded to vocational education. Prominence is given to technical/vocational education, and policies are adum-

brated on a great many outstanding strategic issues in this field. The Minister's remarks (in the Foreword to the Plan) on the "total" school are noteworthy:

> A "total" school must involve itself extensively in manual work and must require that both teacher and pupil move with familiarity between the tilling of the soil, the sweeping of floors, and tinkering with machines. Only thus can we make work seem natural, equal in dignity. . . .[8]

The five-year education plan seeks to disperse the benefits (and prestige) of genuine secondary education through a wider scatter of institutions. The plan states that by 1983 all secondary-stage institutions will be offering a common programme in Level I (grades 7, 8, and 9) and a common core with appropriate options in Level II (grades 10 and 11). The community colleges (the newcomer among institutional types), the teachers' colleges, and certain centrally located secondary schools will operate at Level II. The common core of learning at Level I will consist of the usual vocational subjects along with English, mathematics, physical education, a foreign language, science, and social studies. Music, drama, typing, and other subjects will be offered as options.

At Level II, students will be required to undertake a core of basic studies – English, mathematics, social studies, aesthetic studies, and a technical/vocational subject of individual choice. Each school will offer a curriculum heavily slanted towards the vocations, whose range will be subject to Ministry approval, and the spread of offerings will depend upon the needs and interests of the students and local community and the resources available to the school.

NOTES

1. *Handbook of Jamaica*, e.g., the 1923 issue, p. 443.

2. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1926.

3. Jamaica, Ministry of Education, *Annual Report of the Education Department, Kingston, for the Year Ended 31st December 1936.*

4. West India Royal Commission, *Report*, 1945, chapter VII.

5. *Report*, p. 317.

6. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1962, p. 412.

7. *Jamaica Handbook*, 1885-86.

8. *Five-Year Education Plan, 1978-1983* (Ministry of Education, Kingston, 1977), Draft One.

8

Some Comparisons between Educational Developments in British Guiana and Jamaica in the Later Nineteenth Century

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Jamaica and British Guiana had many features in common. Both had been settled by free white colonists who, in the interests of the sugar industry, had imported thousands of negro slaves from Africa, and after the abolition of slavery, had introduced immigrants from various parts of the world. In each colony, the social and political structure had been determined and maintained by the dictates of the economic structure: a tiny white minority controlled wealth, political power, and social status, while the mass of the population continued to fill an economic role of peonage even after emancipation. The labouring population had formed in both cases a field for missionary activity, the religious denominations providing many of those social services which it had not been the tradition for the state to provide in a plantation economy. Accordingly, what educational development took place owed its beginnings to the exertions of missionary agencies, who became a force to be reckoned with, one way or another, when colonial governments eventually addressed their attention to educational matters.

Within that common framework, however, there were differences. Jamaica had been a British colony continuously from the mid-seventeenth century; Guiana did not become British until the early nineteenth century. As a result, there were many differences in resources, possibilities, and attitudes between the two colonies.

The white minority in Jamaica was considerably larger than the white minority in British Guiana; and whereas Jamaican whites were almost all Britons, Guianese white society was cosmopolitan,[1] the effect of a liberal

settlement policy under the Dutch and the immigration policy of the post-emancipation period. Although both Jamaica and British Guiana resorted to immigration, Guianese planters exploited that source of labour far more energetically than did their Jamaican counterparts.[2]

There was a corresponding contrast in attitudes to economic fortunes. Jamaican planters tended to be traditionalists; they could not easily adapt to conditions of a free labour market and free trade among nations. Guianese planters were, on the other hand, forward-looking and commercially minded.[3] While the sugar industry lost its predominant position in Jamaica, in Guiana it flourished and expanded. The voice of the sugar planters was sufficiently loud in Jamaican politics to make it appear that the fortunes of the sugar industry determined the national destiny. Similar claims were made in Guiana, but with greater justice.

Constitutionally, both Jamaica after 1866 and British Guiana throughout the century were considered crown colonies; but British Guiana was a crown colony with a difference, enjoying as it did semi-representative institutions inherited from the Dutch.[4]

The contrasts between Jamaica and British Guiana were significant enough to have made a difference to educational developments in the two territories. The educational challenge itself, as the following section will show, was different.

The Problems for Education

According to the census reports for the latter half of the nineteenth century, the population of British Guiana was considerably less than that of Jamaica – indeed, never more than one-third. There was a corresponding difference in the size of the school-age population. From a purely numerical point of view, therefore, the provision of educational facilities for the entire school-age population was a less formidable undertaking in British Guiana than it was in Jamaica. On the other hand, almost the entire school-age population of Jamaica were native-born, while in British Guiana a large proportion of children were either foreign-born or the children of immigrants who had come to the colony in their adulthood. The contrasts in the racial composition of Jamaica's and British Guiana's populations, to which the differing degree of immigration contributed, posed problems for education which were correspondingly distinct for each colony. In Jamaica, continuity of instruction was within the realm of possibility; but the intentions of many immigrant parents in Guiana to return home, even when not realized, affected their attitudes toward the schooling of their children. Furthermore, their hope of acquiring wealth to improve their circumstances on their repatriation induced many immigrant labourers to send their children out to work rather than to school. Even in the case of those who did choose to stay in the colony there were the problems of diverse languages, religions, and cultures.[5]

The multiplicity of languages and dialects posed a difficult task for education, even considered from the single aspect of teacher provision. The existence of several cultures and religions among Guiana's immigrant population also affected the rate at which they could be Christianized and "Europeanized," which was the goal of the dominant group in the society. In addition to the resilience of cultures was the question of numbers. Strength of numbers had much to do with delay in integration: the far fewer immigrants to Jamaica were more quickly "creolized" and absorbed into the labouring population, but in Guiana the immigrant groups tended to be completely isolated from the rest of the society.

Problems of a different nature were posed by the social stratification of the society in both territories. Persons of white and fairer hue inherited the top of the hierarchy; persons of black and darker hue, the bottom. Education was seen and exploited as the means to move upwards in society. The children of the middle and upper classes enjoyed a clear advantage over the children of the lower classes, who, handicapped by malnutrition, crowded homes, insanitary conditions, and indifferent or absent parents, either did not go to school or attended irregularly.

Many of the children of lower-class parents had to work for a living. On sugar estates work was available not only for adolescent boys and girls but also for very young children. In the cane-cutting season, schools would be emptied. If not employed on sugar estates, the children of the peasantry had to help their parents on family farms.

Many children were delinquents or vagrants or both. Prisons and penitentiaries held some of those children who were convicted for larceny and other crimes. Some children took to begging; since their parents were unable to give them food, they were "obliged to seek it for themselves during the hours when they should be at school."[6]

As a consequence of the depressed condition of a large proportion of the working classes, the obstacles to schooling were formidable. Geographical and climatic factors, poor communications, natural disasters, epidemics, all added their quota.

It should be pointed out that although the problems that have been traced to socioeconomic conditions were present in both Jamaica and British Guiana, they were never as acute in British Guiana as in Jamaica. Plantation owners in British Guiana were legally required to provide free housing and medical attention for indentured immigrants. Criticisms of the indenture system as it operated in that colony had led in 1870 to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry, whose report sparked off a succession of reforms. In the communal life of the villages, there were fewer cases of utter destitution unheeded by the other members of the village.

Additional problems for education sprang from the division of interest among, and the varying resources of, the agencies which provided education.

In both Jamaica and British Guiana elementary education for the children of the labouring class – and to a more limited extent secondary education for the children of the upper and middle classes – was offered by Christian denominations and missionary societies. In both territories, though to varying degrees, the government subsidized voluntary agencies out of public revenue. In some cases government participation was more direct and "government" or "colonial" institutions were provided and maintained. Other agencies were engaged in providing educational facilities of one kind or another for sections of the school-age population. But the predominant partners in the education field were the Christian denominations and the colonial governments.

Denominational rivalries on the one hand, and political divisions between expatriate and creole interests on the other, had serious repercussions on educational developments, as will be seen later on. In Jamaica the course advocated by the nonconformist denominations was the cessation of government grants for religious purposes.[7] Since it was the Anglican Church alone which received these grants, the objective of the dissenting bodies was really the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, the resources and status of which had given it the advantage in educational provision and the influencing of education policy. The Baptists upheld the voluntary principle not only in regard to ecclesiastical grants but also in regard to education grants. Until their capitulation in 1866, they vigorously denounced the acceptance of government grants for schools.[8] After the disestablishment of the Church of England in Jamaica in 1870, the underlying conflict between the Anglicans and other denominations became less acute. The pattern thereafter was for the Anglican clergy to take the lead in denominational opposition to, or co-operation with, crown colony officials in educational affairs.

In British Guiana the denominations were divided into three main groups. The bone of contention was not whether state aid should be accepted for religious and educational purposes, but how it should be distributed among the denominations. The stakes were high, for in British Guiana not only were the Anglican and the Presbyterian churches established, but the other denominations also received endowments from the government. In addition, comparatively liberal grants for education were received from public revenue. The Anglican and Presbyterian bodies, established since the 1820s, already enjoyed a privileged position vis-à-vis the other bodies, but the rivalry between the two was bitter. Beyond that, the non-established churches were divided between the Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant churches which received endowments from the state resented the policy of the government to endow the Roman Catholic Church as well. When faced with the possibility of disestablishment and disendowment, the non-established churches in British Guiana were placed in a dilemma. They wanted equality among the Protestant denominations, but not the equality of disendowment. What they therefore demanded was that the government sub-

sidize denominations according to their numerical following. In the ensuing contest, statistics of schools and scholars assumed equal importance to statistics of churches and members.

The alignment of competing political forces also had repercussions on educational developments. Among the many criticisms of the pre-1866 Jamaica constitution were reiterated pleas for social legislation in the interest of the poorer classes. The House of Assembly was seen by many observers as an obstacle to the achievement of these goals. A specific responsibility for education was contained in Her Majesty's instructions to Governor Grant in 1866, a responsibility which that energetic bureaucrat did not hesitate to meet. It was not long after the panic of the mid-1860s had subsided, however, that paternalistic government came under attack; and, significantly, agitators for further constitutional change included the education projects of crown colony governors among the targets of their criticism. When some elected members were reintroduced into the Legislative Council they ranged themselves against the nominated members and challenged Imperial claims to public benefaction.

The constitutional arrangements in British Guiana could easily be used to challenge the absolute powers of crown colony governors. The Court of Policy was not only the legislative body but the executive as well. In financial matters the Court of Policy combined with the Financial College to form the Combined Court, which had the power in matters of the purse and on which elected members had a majority. Because Guianese politicians were determined to prove that they shared legislative and financial powers with the governor, debates concerning education figured often in legislative proceedings and the education items on the annual estimates were one area where political battles were fought.

In Jamaica, it was the official side which championed the cause of the masses and set out to establish a reputation for efficiency and competence. In British Guiana, it was the elective side which played the role of benevolent paternalism. The fact that in Jamaica the power over finance resided up to 1865 in the Executive Committee and thereafter in the Chief Executive, while in British Guiana it resided in the Combined Court with its elected majority, accentuated this difference; for in each case the means to realize programmes were at the command of those who made the claim of greater concern and interest.

Education Legislation

At much the same time – 1867 for Jamaica and 1869 for British Guiana – government regulations gave legislative hospitality to the system of "payment-by-results." Almost identical curricular requirements were laid out. Rates of payment of government grants were outlined, with special rates being offered in those areas which the government wanted emphasized. In both territories

laws were passed relegating orphan and destitute children and juvenile offenders to the same institutions or to the appropriate sections of double-purpose industrial and reformatory schools. Both countries legislated for the adoption of the pupil-teacher system and instituted external examinations for pupil-teacher certification.[9]

A difference in the education legislation of Jamaica and British Guiana is the fact that the latter colony boasted a compulsory education law after 1876, while the former did not. Educators in both countries had been concerned about the twin problems of small and irregular attendance and had been in the habit of recommending compulsory education as the solution. Adequacy of school provision was the critical consideration, and it was only in British Guiana that compulsion was found to be a practicable proposition. In 1876 elementary schooling was made compulsory between the ages of 5 and 12;[10] and one of the duties of the Educational District Officers appointed to carry out the provisions of the Ordinance of 1876 was to keep a register of all children under 12 years of age residing in their respective districts. From the clause investing the governor with authority to proclaim any portion of the colony an Educational District and to add to or decrease the number of such districts or alter their boundaries, it can be inferred that the rate of territorial extent of implementation depended on the further initiative of the governor. But while Governor Longden was committed to compulsory education, his successors were not; in 1882 the new governor, Irving, actually scoffed at the experiment.[11]

In both Jamaica and British Guiana legislation made provision for the education of immigrant children. The Jamaica law required the Immigration Agent to order immigrant orphans, and other immigrant children if their parents consented, to be sent to industrial schools "to be fed, taught, employed, maintained and taken care of."[12] The treatment of immigrant orphans and children in such institutions was to be impartial.

The Guianese lawmakers had more to say on the matter. The Immigration Ordinance of 1873 (No. 7, clause 52) had forbidden the Immigration Agent General to indenture coolie children to any estate on which there was no provision for their instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. But there had been only partial compliance with these provisions, and a more positive approach was adopted in Ordinance No. 14 of 1876. Estate proprietors were forbidden, under penalty, to employ children below the age of 9 or to employ children of statutory age if they could not produce "certificates of proficiency in reading, writing and elementary arithmetic," unless such children could attend an "efficient" school on every school day for two and a half hours between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. Proprietors of plantations under cultivation were to provide and maintain one or more schools for their joint use provided the children did not have to travel more than two miles to reach the school. Only

if sufficient accommodation for all children within a mile of a plantation already existed was a planter relieved of legal liabilities. The provisions concerning "Day Industrial Schools" made it possible for immigrant children to fulfil compulsory attendance requirements and still work on estates; for them school and work hours were made to dovetail.

A striking contrast between the legislative enactments concerning education in Jamaica and British Guiana is in the abundance of laws dealing with endowed institutions in Jamaica compared to the total absence of such laws in British Guiana. Most of the laws concerned the appointment of Trustees and the use of Trust funds. Of crucial importance in the endowed schools' legislation was the law of 1879 constituting the Jamaica Schools Commission and delegating to that body the power to reorganize educational charities into efficient high schools.[13] Corresponding legislation in British Guiana demonstrated a different solution to the problem of secondary educational provision: Ordinance No. 16 of 1876 authorized the purchase of the denominational grammar school of longest standing and greatest local prestige. The same policy was pursued in regard to the provision of a government training college, legislated for since 1855 and never set up. It had been easier to subsidize the Anglican Bishop's College. The purchase of Bishop's College in 1876 and its reorganization into a nondenominational, colonial institution culminated the process.

Comprising an area of legislation closely related to education law were those enactments concerning such social problems as ascertaining the parentage of children, ensuring the maintenance of orphan and abandoned children, organizing apprenticeship schemes, taking precautionary measures against epidemics, and so on. The Jamaican authorities were forced to consider this aspect of the problem in the face of reality: destitute children abounded on the streets, in the courts, in the prisons, in the slums, in hospitals. Such laws as that of 1865 "to establish a system of vaccination," "the Law to provide for the maintenance by parents and step-parents of children" of 1869, "the Bastardy Law," the apprenticeship laws, and the "Maintenance Law" of 1881, no less than the laws empowering individuals to set up industrial and reformatory institutions, were measures passed in response to such pressures.

Both colonies tackled the problem of illegitimacy by punitive legislation. Penalties were written into laws against defaulting parents, but it was noted that mothers were unwilling to invoke existing laws to bring about the arrest of the fathers of their abandoned children. In some cases, only putative fatherhood could be established. In 1868 in British Guiana and in 1877 in Jamaica, another approach – preventive rather than remedial – was tried, that of instituting the registration of births and deaths. Legislation to control housing conditions and sanitary facilities was also attempted but met with chequered success.

Specific Educational Provisions

For those children who did get formal schooling, four basic levels of schooling were offered – elementary, teacher preparation, secondary, and further.

Because private as well as public agencies participated in educational provision, the recorded statistics of numbers of educational institutions and pupils enrolled in and attending them do not match the actual supply. Of the extent of the private provision, various sources give only partial information. The available data mostly concern government-inspected schools.

In Jamaica there was a steady increase in the number of aided schools after 1870, reflecting increased government assistance under crown colony government. "Opening grants" – that is, special grants for the erection of new schools – were awarded from 1870 onward. Many schools were built without their help.[14] A parallel development was the increase in enrolment and attendance. Increased attendances meant larger grants, and schoolmasters were not slow to take the hint.

In the case of British Guiana, government inspection was established on a regular basis in 1851; thus, the statistics consistently refer to aided elementary schools. The Jamaican figures show more spectacular increases over shorter periods of time than the Guianese: in Jamaica the number of schools doubled and the attendance figures trebled between 1868 and 1885, whereas in British Guiana over the same period there was hardly any net increase in either. In both cases, there were periods of recession which corresponded to economic depression and natural disasters.

When the extent of the total provision is not known, it is difficult to assess its adequacy. But there were occasions when such assessments were made, usually based on estimates of the total provision. For Jamaica it is clear that if all the children "on the books" attended school regularly, the authorities would have been hard pressed to find accommodation for them all. Had all the children of school age turned out, the situation would have been catastrophic.[15] It is not surprising, therefore, that although the pros and cons of making education compulsory formed a topic of perennial interest in Jamaica, the step was not actually taken.

In British Guiana the much smaller population catered to brought compulsory attendance within the realm of practical politics. It was calculated in 1876 that if all the children on the registers were to attend schools there would still be room for 3000 more children. Only 5000 more places were deemed necessary for compulsion to be effective.[16]

As a measure of the success of compulsory attendance, however, the post-1876 statistics are disappointing. There was no spectacular increase in the number of schools or appreciable improvement in attendance figures. The cause is not far to seek. Only Georgetown and New Amsterdam were proclaimed Educational Districts; and only there were Educational District Officers appointed. Attempts to extend the area of compulsion were foiled

by the Financial Representatives in the Combined Court, who kept slashing from the annual estimates any items for the salaries of rural district officers. When Sir Henry Turner Irving became governor in 1882, he frankly disparaged the system and set about dismantling it. The new education code of 1882 restricted enforcement to Georgetown alone. In 1885 even the Georgetown Educational District Officers were dismissed.[17]

In both Jamaica and British Guiana attendance continued to be irregular throughout the period. Various solutions were tried. Schoolmasters and teachers often waived the payment of school fees, or schools were opened for only four days a week. Government administrators attacked the problem by making the size of government grants-in-aid depend on attendance, but this attempt to encourage attendance – if such it was – was not very effective. In some cases attendance requirements had to be lowered.

Indeed, the adequacy of the elementary school provision was never really put to the test – even in British Guiana after 1876 – for attendance and even enrolment persistently fell far short of the total school-age population. Adequacy of provision might be measured by another standard, that of its distribution. In both colonies there were regional inequalities, but whereas in Jamaica regional differences were due mainly to geographical factors, in British Guiana regional differences coincided almost exactly with racial differences. In Jamaica, mountainous areas suffered from inaccessibility. Urban areas were well supplied in comparison with rural. Fortunately, the island was liberally sprinkled with rural towns (37 in the 1861 census returns).

The urban/rural disparity in provision had much more serious implications in British Guiana. The two towns in existence were heavily endowed with schools. In the country districts, in spite of legislation, the villages were better supplied than the estates, where before 1860 there were no schools. In 1881, the Immigration Agent General was able to report that "of the 102 estates in British Guiana there were 43 unprovided with schools."[18] It was noted that immigrant parents were more interested in the earning than the learning power of their children. The 1871 census returns stated that 11 894 children under 15 years of age were employed in agriculture, a number that exceeded the total school-attending population of the colony. The indigenous Amerindians of British Guiana were even more neglected educationally, with only the Anglican body taking even their evangelization seriously during this period. There were never more than nine Indian Mission schools – a totally inadequate number.[19]

In both Jamaica and British Guiana the distribution and effectiveness of elementary school provision were affected by sectarian rivalry. Many schools were often established where one or two would have adequately served the needs of an area. On the other hand, some districts were wholly neglected. In Jamaica, where the population was diffuse and where there was a great lag between the need and supply of schools, denominational competition did not

have the same effects as in Guiana; there the concentration of the population into close village and estate communities and the comparative paucity of numbers made the erection of several denominational schools per unit obviously ridiculous. There were many Guianese who regretted the decision in 1876 to continue the denominational system of education, since it encouraged an unnecessary number of small, inefficient schools. One of the strongest arguments for a secular system of education was that only through the exercise of central authority could there be the most economical and efficient distribution of schools.

The provision of special types of institutions at the elementary level – that is, of "industrial schools," reformatory schools, orphan asylums, and so on – was totally inadequate and, as a natural consequence, unequally distributed. Under crown colony government in Jamaica there was an energetic drive to introduce a more practical bias into elementary education, and the establishment of "industrial schools" was actively encouraged. The schools which offered day industrial training and the residential industrial homes were greater in number than in British Guiana, but in proportion to the population at risk the supply was almost as inadequate. The "model" school set up under Governor Grant were supposed to set other schools a model of industrial schooling; but of the six established between 1869 and 1873, only one survived until 1885.

Apart from the fact that most secondary institutions, because they were privately provided and operated, were not systematically reported on to the government, there were other factors which obscure the true extent of secondary school provision. One factor was that those students who pursued secondary studies locally were instructed either individually or in small groups in private residences. Another factor was that denominations often combined high school, theological hall, and teacher training department in one institution. For some schools there were frequent changes of locality, and sometimes an institution changed its name as fast as it changed its site. Often high schools were closed down for a period and then reopened.

Jamaica would seem to have been more liberally served with post-elementary institutions than was British Guiana. To this contrast in secondary school provision the existence of several educational endowments in Jamaica – more than twenty to British Guiana's two – contributed not a little. The Jamaica Schools Commission, created in 1879, had powers not only to establish, "maintain and keep efficient a school, to be called the Jamaica High School" but also to reorganize any of the endowed schools into efficient high schools.[20]

Each denomination at work in Jamaica and British Guiana was concerned with maintaining an adequate supply of clergy and lay workers. Some denominations, such as the Baptists in Jamaica, recognized the need to train native ministers at an early date. Other denominations regretted their neglect of

theological training when in the latter half of the century most of the sponsoring British societies pursued a policy of gradual or speedy withdrawal from the West Indian mission field. The need to educate lay workers was as great as, and often greater than, the need to train future ministers. In addition to private individual tuition and the combination of teacher training and/or high school studies with theological pursuits, the denominations discussed the erection of theological training schools.

The attempt of the first crown colony governor of Jamaica to establish an institution of higher learning proved abortive. It was Governor Grant's awareness of the denominations' objective that led to his proposal that theology tutors be attached to the staff at the Spanish Town College to supervise the theological instruction of those students who belonged to their respective communions. This theology department would be part of the core of the new "Queen's College," and every student in a denominational high school or theological training program was a potential student of the college. Grant had hoped that in addition to providing a general liberal education for prospective clergymen, the college could also provide "education of the highest order" in order to stimulate "education of the middle order."[21] At least two of the endowed schools were expected to transfer their scholars to the college, and it was taken for granted that many young men would avail themselves of a much higher education than they could possibly receive elsewhere in the island.

Only four candidates turned up for examination, and only one of the successful three was present when Queen's College was opened.[22] Early in 1874 one of the two professors engaged from England resigned, and in April the bedsteads from the dormitories were being offered for sale.

There were various reasons for the failure of the college. Even before it opened, the selection of professors from abroad was criticized for the implied slight to locally available scholars;[23] the proposed course of study was judged unsuitable and inadequate for the future graduates of a Jamaican university;[24] and strong exception was taken to the use of endowments to help finance the college.[25] Grant's loss of the goodwill of the denominational leaders was a crucial factor.[26] Neither the consultations between Governor Grey and the denominational leaders nor the public meetings held in 1875 retrieved the situation.[27] The attempt to revert to the original proposals of the denominations also collapsed.[28] Queen's College was closed in 1876.

The Guianese authorities were content to stop short of provision for further education. For higher education well-to-do parents preferred to send their children abroad.

To British Guiana's one teacher training institution, itself abolished in 1882, Jamaica had one private, four denominational, one endowed, and two government training colleges, and, for a time at least, six "model" training schools. [For further details of teacher training, refer to chapter 1.]

When in 1853 the Anglicans in British Guiana had added a department for the training of teachers to their Bishop's College (founded in 1851 for preparing theological students for Holy Orders), they had asked for a government grant equivalent to that made to the Wesleyans for training their teachers at the Mico Institution in Antigua.[29] The Inspector of Schools recognized in this arrangement an opportunity to avoid the expense of establishing a separate government institution, provided the Anglicans shared their facilities with students of other denominations. But even if Bishop's College catered to Anglican students alone, he recommended that the institution be supported from public funds and assistance be accorded simultaneously to the other denominations desirous of sending their students to Antigua or Jamaica. The Inspector's proposals were implemented: in addition to the grant to Bishop's College, the Combined Court also put a certain sum at the disposal of the Board of Education each year for the training of a number of students in or out of the colony. An attempt on the part of the Wesleyans to provide their own teacher training college in the colony in 1859-61 proved abortive. They therefore had to continue to rely on external arrangements or make use of the facilities of Bishop's College. Many of the teachers attached to the London Mission schools had been painstakingly trained on the job by their missionaries. With the decision of the Anglican authorities in 1855 to admit students of other denominations into Bishop's College,[30] a specified quota of Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and London Missionary students received their training there as "Queen's Scholars." Other students entered for training at their own expense. In 1877 Bishop's College became a government institution, under the immediate control of the Board of Education.[31] After the abolition of this institution in 1882, British Guiana remained without a local teacher-training institution until 1928.

A scheme devised by Mr. Blair, Inspector of Schools, for grants-in-aid of training schools was submitted to the Combined Court in 1893, but was not adopted. The majority of the members of the Court were against the perpetuation of the denominational system. Sir Henry Turner Irving had closed the Training Institution after only five years' existence on account of its excessive cost. It was for reasons of economy also that teachers' certificate salaries as well as the salaries of pupil teachers were dropped from the estimates, but as a result the only remaining local avenue of teacher training was jeopardized. In 1886 the Inspector of Schools submitted proposals for reviving the pupil-teacher system, but it was not until four years later that provision was once more made for paying them, and not until the turn of the century that incentives in the form of bonuses were provided for both the pupil teachers and their instructors.[32]

Practically every inspector's and commission's report on education referred to the shortage of trained teachers in the elementary schools. But this was also the case in Jamaica, even with its more liberal provision. The demand for

teachers far outstripped the supply. By no means did all the graduates of the teacher training colleges go into teaching; many used teacher training as an avenue to more lucrative callings. There were many trainees who did not finish their college course. Others received poor grades but proceeded into teaching nevertheless.

The Nature of Instruction

In the areas of content and method of instruction the similarities between the education systems of Jamaica and British Guiana far outweigh the differences. In addition to the similarity of curricula in all British colonial territories was the remarkable uniformity in the programmes offered to pupils at all levels of schooling. All were characterized by the prominence of academic studies; an almost total absence of practical education; a devotion to foreign themes and instructional material; and an all-pervading emphasis on religious instruction. The homogeneity of instruction indicated by these common features was not seriously threatened by cultural distinctions between lower-, middle-, and upper-class education. Differentiation was secured more effectively by institutional separation than by the variety of curricular offerings.

In the elementary schools the three R's formed the core of instruction. In the upper grades instruction in the "higher branches" of the three R's was supplemented by the teaching of other subjects such as history, geography, and general knowledge. In some schools, the list of such subjects was long, at least on paper.

At the post-elementary level the proliferation of subjects reached fantastic proportions.[33] The curriculum at this level was strongly biased in favour of literary studies, the classics taking pride of place. Indeed, an educational institution above the elementary level stood or fell in the public opinion by the place it accorded the classics.

The secondary school curriculum was largely determined by the nature of the secondary school clientele, namely the children of officials, planters, merchants, and missionaries. Most of them were slated either to go on to institutions of higher learning abroad or to enter the colonial civil service. The articulation between colonial high schools and British universities inevitably manifested itself in the orientation of the grammar school curriculum. When the exigencies of awarding annual colonial scholarships led to the local adoption of the external examination system, the secondary school curriculum became even more firmly wedded to the curricular demands of British universities.[34]

The teacher training college curriculum was influenced by the "liberal" curriculum of high school and college; inevitably, therefore, the primary system was also affected. The pattern set at the top became the dominant pattern throughout the whole system.

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Despite the multiplicity of subjects that burdened the typical curriculum, certain areas of instruction were largely neglected. In post-elementary institutions, one such area was foreign languages. Most secondary institutions seemed to favour the dead languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, over the living ones: this was so even in British Guiana, where the argument for paying attention to foreign languages was very strong in view of the cosmopolitan immigrant population and the non-English-speaking character of Guiana's neighbours. Where modern languages were taught, they were invariably European. A definite victory was achieved when Hindustani was put on the syllabus of Queen's College Grammar School in British Guiana, and that happened only when it became a government secondary school.

Another neglected area was that of natural sciences. The need for instruction in agricultural science particularly was patent and acknowledged. Although both colonies were predominantly agricultural and depended heavily on the sugar industry, the estate officials were notoriously ignorant of the basic scientific principles called for in sugar production. While only a very few children could hope ever to become estate managers or subordinate members of staff, very many were destined to depend on agriculture for their livelihood after leaving school, if not before. There were many more rural children of school age than there were urban children. Yet the elementary school curriculum did not distinguish between rural and urban needs. Except in "industrial schools," where "industrial pursuits" figured in the programme, both urban and rural children were subjected to the same highly literary curriculum.

In contrast to British Guiana, where there were very few and very half-hearted attempts to introduce practical subjects into elementary education (only the regulation withholding any government grants to those schools which did not teach needlework achieved the inclusion of that subject in the curriculum), repeated efforts were made by the legislators and governors of Jamaica to make "industrial education" an integral part of elementary schooling. Under Governor John Peter Grant a concentrated campaign was launched and special grant concessions were offered to schools devoting at least three hours each day to manual labour.[35] A government training college and six "model" schools were set up to impart industrial training to prospective school masters. However, not much progress was reported: the model schools stopped functioning one after another, "industrial pursuits" were soon dropped from the Stony Hill Training College curriculum, and grants for industry were reduced. In the end it proved easier to introduce practical education by way of the institution than by way of the curriculum.

In British Guiana also, attempts to establish "industrial" education took the form of institutional rather than curricular changes. The planters never took the initiative in establishing industrial schools. In effect, the surest way of getting a practical education in British Guiana was via the juvenile court.

Religious instruction had an honoured place in the curriculum not only of elementary schools but also of normal, theological, and most secondary schools. It was to be expected, considering that the agencies providing educational facilities at these levels were predominantly Christian. In British Guiana, where there were large numbers of non-Christian immigrants and where there was a continual resurgence of the pro-secularization party line, the retention of religious instruction on the curriculum was constantly debated. It was argued by most opponents of compulsory education that the large population of "heathen" immigrants should not be forced to accept the Christian religion. On the other hand, those who advocated state control of education denied that they favoured "godless education"; their objection, they insisted, was to sectarianism and not to Christianity. In fact, so strong were the prejudices in favour of religious instruction, in the elementary schools especially, that the debate often descended to trivialities, the overriding issue allowing little opposition.

The characteristics of the curriculum are explained by reference to the values, attitudes, and aims of the society on which it was in a sense imposed, but which nevertheless gave it uncritical welcome. The psychological compulsion of colonial peoples to value and pursue the cultural ideas and standards of the mother country contributed much to the perpetuation of the academic, British-type curriculum. Nor was the model a distant one: expatriate officials and missionaries brought it near; and the aspirations of a class-conscious, stratified society did the rest. The white community with its English values, the coloured community which aspired to "white" status, and the negro community desiring to move up in society, all accepted English standards as the gateway to social advancement and recognition. Consequently, efforts to introduce more relevant themes or to adjust curricula to local conditions of life and work were suspected of being attempts to suppress social mobility. In a circular manner, therefore, the power of those in administrative control to determine the curriculum was curtailed by the influence exercised by the potential customers, who dictated the nature of what could be supplied to them.

Among those who provided education, and to whom, therefore, the way was open to proffer alternative courses, there were divided interests and conflicting counsels which also contributed to the triumph of popular preferences. Even attempts to influence the nature of instruction in schools through teacher training were foiled by ingrained prejudices on the part of teacher trainees and the public. Indeed, all the reinforcements of tradition served to entrench the academic curriculum.

Development of a "literary" curriculum was helped by the dedication of educators to the moral training of the West Indian ex-slave population. The teaching of reading had initially been undertaken to enable adults and children to read the Bible, the chief source of literary content in education.

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Other factors contributed to the entrenchment of literary studies and their refraction into a multitude of subjects: the interdenominational rivalry which impelled the competitors each to offer a more imposing array of consumer goods than rivals; the desire to ensure for a few what, in times of scarce resources, had to be denied to the many; and the determination of the missionaries to demonstrate the intellectual equivalence of West Indian and English children by setting them similar academic tasks.[36] Moreover, parental pressures usually strengthened the aims of the religious denominations of which they were members. Even when denominational and parental ambitions were more modest or practical, educators trained in the English tradition offered what in their sights was the best on the market.

Government intervention would have made a considerable difference to curricular development had not similar influences made the administrative and teaching personnel equally conservative. Teacher training staff, denominational managers, and school masters, as well as government inspectors, were committed to the same values and procedures, either through their origin or through their training.

Had the requisite changes been made in the curriculum, the translation of curricular changes into practice would have ultimately depended on the actual practice of teachers in the classroom. Where records are available – as is most often the case for government-inspected schools – there is overwhelming evidence of incompetent teaching and unenlightened methods. The absence of comprehension in both the taught and the teachers was one of the most frequent observations in reports. Instruction tended to be superficial; the foundations were neglected in the teachers' eagerness to push children on to the higher classes where passes were worth more.

Inspection of the "results" of the annual examinations, after the system of "payment-by-results" was introduced, shows that many schools were substandard and could only be kept on the government list by lowering standards or yielding to "exceptional" cases.

Conclusions

The data so far describe two societies with contrasting education needs and differing capacities to meet those needs – societies in which, nevertheless, the educational practices were overwhelmingly alike. It has been suggested that there were common cultural determinants of curricula. Similarities in education policy were also the result of uniformity of administrative processes within colonial society, a uniformity that was unaffected by any differences in constitutional arrangements. The bureaucratic superstructure of the British colonial empire militated against individualized treatment of territories. Even if governors were able to appreciate the problems peculiar to the colonies they administered and to offer suggestions for policy, Secretaries of State

found it difficult to avoid suggesting solutions which had been reached elsewhere and were therefore considered suitable remedies for analogous situations everywhere.

It was up to colonial governors, it is true, to comment on the possibilities of local adoption of a recommended course of action. But it was asking much to expect colonial governors, especially those sent to the British West Indies in a period of relative unimportance of the Indies to Britain, to possess the insight needed for making accurate assessments of colonies they ruled for a few years at the most. When it came to education, an area of relatively small interest at the Imperial and even colonial level, the temptation must have been strong to simply adopt metropolitan practices. Imperial acts on educational and related issues were slavishly copied in colonial legislation.

Even when the Imperial government gave careful consideration to the peculiar needs of agricultural colonies – as had Dr. Kay Shuttleworth in his scheme for industrial and normal schools in the colonies in 1847 – terminology, institutional forms, and supportive materials were derived from a source outside the colonies and consequently lacked the advantages of indigenous solutions to local problems.

Indeed, the very features of the society which had created the problems for education in the first place precluded their easy solution. Because the society was stratified into classes unequal in wealth, status, and power, education was cast in a role extrinsic to itself. With upward social mobility or the retention of topmost positions as the main motivation, critical evaluation of content and relevance was hardly attempted. Neither those who imparted instruction nor those to whom it was imparted wanted it otherwise.

So much for the context of thinking and attitudes; for actual achievements the operative factors – small financial resources, low priority rating of education and social services generally, the heterogeneity of the agencies providing education – explain why practice fell so far short of professed intention. The levelling effects of economic slumps were very noticeable in the 1880s. When the Royal Financial Commissioners averred that the results of the system of education in Jamaica were not commensurate to the expenditure and when Governor Irving set out to put a stop to the "miscalculated liberality" of the education votes of the Combined Court of British Guiana,[37] both colonies resorted to a policy of retrenchment which was to make their educational development more alike than it had been previously.

Colonial education was certainly not education for development. If anything, it was education for maintaining the status quo. What the planters wanted was a labour force, and not necessarily an educated or skilled labour force at that. The missionaries, moved by religious zeal and humanitarian concern, tried to provide for the negroes what they considered almost in the light of a human right. Governments adopted a more or less laisser-faire attitude, not intervening unless absolutely necessary, and then with as little

upset as possible. Education for development is a recent phenomenon. The overall central planning it requires was hardly possible in the colonial context of multiple agencies and conflicting philosophies.

The educational policy and practice of two British colonies in the late nineteenth century nevertheless have implications for the present. It has been seen that there were many points between formulation of policy and its implementation at which intentions either were deflected or failed altogether to be realized. Further than that, the prerequisites of development, though they include formal education, go far beyond it. Even had educational practice lived up to the expectations of policy-makers, it remains debatable whether, in the absence of the appropriate infrastructure, Jamaica and British Guiana would have been any more economically advanced than they were at the turn of the century.

NOTES

1. Guianese whites included Dutch, German, French, Portuguese, Jews, English, Irish, and Maltese.

2. Between 1845 and 1885 British Guiana imported 148 880 East Indians to Jamaica's 23 833; 26 007 Portuguese to Jamaica's 379; 8140 Africans to Jamaica's 7173; and 13 533 Chinese to Jamaica's 1152. Cf. G. W. Roberts and J. Byrne, "Indenture and Associated Migration," *Population Studies*, Vol. 20 (July 1961).

3. Cf. R. W. Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957).

4. Cf. Sir Cecil Clementi, *A Constitutional History of British Guiana* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

5. A full discussion of this can be found in H. V. P. Bronkhurst, *The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population* (London: Woolmer, 1883), chapter XI.

6. Jamaica, Commission of Inquiry upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population, *Report* (1879).

7. Governor Eyre to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 100, 10 March 1864. See also Governor J. P. Grant to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 180, 23 July 1869.

8. R. A. L. Knight, *Liberty and Progress: A Short History of the Baptists of Jamaica* (Kingston: Gleaner Co., 1939).

9. See Shirley Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education* (London: Longmans, 1963), chapter 7.

10. Ordinance No. 14 of 1876.

11. *Royal Gazette*, 10 June 1882, reporting proceedings of Combined Court sessions of 9 June 1882.

12. 22 Victoria 8, 1858, "An Act for promoting the education and industrial training of children of immigrants," clause 2.

13. The Schools Commission Law, 1879.

14. Cf. Bishop Enos Nuttall to Colonial Secretary, Hon. E. N. Walker, 25 April 1883, paragraphs 7 to 10.

15. For instance, the Inspector of Schools in Jamaica in 1871 reported the average attendance at 635 schools (including private schools) as being 23 071; the census report for that year gives the number "attending school" as 40 610. Even if the latter figure is accepted, it was still 83 224 short of the total school-age population.

16. Governor Longden to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 247, 27 November 1875, paragraphs 8 and 9.

17. Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools for 1885, *Administrative Reports*, 1885. See section "Compulsory Education."

18. *Administrative Reports*, 1881: Annual Report of the Immigration Agent General, paragraph 33.

19. Cf. Rev. W. H. Brett, *Indian Missions in Guiana: A Short History of S. Matthias Cabacaburi* (London: Bell, 1851).

20. The Schools Commission Law, 1879, clause 19.

21. Governor Grant to Secretary of State, 8 July 1872, paragraphs 9-11.

22. "Intelligence from Spanish Town: Queen's College," *Falmouth Post*, 3 October 1873.

23. Editorial Topics: "The Education of the Island," *Falmouth Post*, 25 July 1873.

24. "The Education of the Island," *Falmouth Post*, 5 August 1873.

25. "The Proposed College for Jamaica," *The Trelawny*, 1 July 1872.

26. "Intelligence from Spanish Town: The College," *Falmouth Post*, 22 July 1873.

27. *The Gleaner*, 5 April 1875, letter to the editor from "X"; *Gall's News Letter*, 22 April 1875, leading article; *The Gleaner*, 7 July 1875, "Public Meeting."

28. *Gall's News Letter*, 22 April 1875.

29. See *Report of Inspector of Schools*, 1853.

30. Referred to in *Report of Inspector of Schools*, 1856.

31. Ordinance No. 16 of 1876 and Ordinance No. 2 of 1877; "A Precis of the History of Elementary Education in British Guiana," by George D. Bayley (Acting Assistant Government Secretary), Georgetown, 1 June 1907, p. 5.

32. See Education Code of 1900.

33. For instance, the course of studies followed at Mary Villa College comprehended Latin, Greek, English, and French; history and geography; natural philosophy and chemistry; arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry; and religious instruction for each denomination separately. Cf. *Handbook of Jamaica*, 1881, pp. 334-49.

34. Cf. *Royal Gazette*, 4 August 1883, "Colonial Scholarships"; and *Supplement to the Jamaica Gazette*, 2 July 1885, p. 429.

35. *Government Regulations*, July 1867.

36. See, for instance, John Buchner, *Moravians in Jamaica* (1854), cited in Shirley Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education*, p. 60; and William Murray, Governor of York Castle, to Methodist Missionary Society, 23 March 1882, also cited in Gordon, p. 249.

37. Governor Irving to Secretary of State, 16 June 1882.

9

Jamaica and Guyana: Post-Nineteenth-Century Parallels

Reginald Murray

In Eirene O'Jon's article some comparisons are made between developments in British Guiana and Jamaica in the later nineteenth century.

Considering the major points of contrast that exist in the circumstances of the two countries, the similarities revealed would appear startling but for our awareness of the characteristic indifference of the departed British colonizer to indigenous interests. The clear-cut divisions in the ethnic composition of the Guyana peoples, the size of the country (83 000 square miles) set against the small population (794 348, according to the 1970 census), the emphatic constraints on any attempt to achieve evenness of population distribution across the lands, the scale of sheer physical difficulty in exploiting the natural resources – "man pitting his energy and strength against unfriendly natural surroundings"[1] – these are some of the factors to which Jamaica is a stranger. The education promoted under colonial rule suffered from two outstanding defects. First, it was, more so in British Guiana than in Jamaica, underdeveloped as a system and weak in quantity. Second, as has been suggested, it failed to take local conditions and needs into account. The forthright Report on Education in British Guiana by Mr. E. Wynn-Williams, His Majesty's Inspector of Schools, describes aspects of education in general in the early 1920s, and in particular at Queen's College, the principal secondary school of the colony. A few extracts will suffice:[2]

Unsuitable Syllabuses.

The syllabuses of all schools are practically alike. They are very narrow and restricted in outlook, and in some respects they are ludicrously grotesque. It seems absurd, for example, to find the East Indian and other children seriously giving their concentrated attention to the "Anarchy of Stephen's Reign" or "the religious difficulties of Queen Elizabeth," or, in the case of an English lesson, a class of children who were preparing for the Leaving Certificate, and whose knowledge of English was very imper-

fect, trying to assimilate the atmosphere and the Cockney humour of Dickens' "Christmas Carol." But when all is said and done, and when the difficulties under which all the teachers work are remembered; when the quality of the staff and the lack of equipment are taken into account, the wonder is not how little but how much has been accomplished. Under better conditions and under better direction it cannot be doubted that the achievements of the children would be greater. The main obstacle, however, in the way of reform is the effort that will be required from the teachers to lay aside the traditions to which they have been accustomed all their lives, and to adjust their teachings to the needs of the Colony in which they live. . . .

The Bane of Examinations. (Queen's College)

All the work of the upper forms of the school (from Form III. upwards) is tested by Cambridge Local examinations – first the Preliminary, then the Junior and finally the Senior. The Preliminary is to be, or has already been, abolished, but the evil shadow of impending tests still hangs like a pall over the school, necessarily limiting the teaching to the scope of a syllabus scarcely suitable to the needs of the majority of the boys. . . .

And the Fetish of Certificates.

One of the consequences of this slavish adherence to external examinations may here be noted. No time can be devoted at any stage in a boy's career to Music, Drawing, or Manual Instruction. It is deplorable that in a School, where higher education is given, no place can be found to encourage and develop the aesthetic and emotional side of a boy's training; but it is almost a scandal that Manual Work should entirely be neglected in the principal school of the Colony, where so much depends upon the industrial life of the community, upon the introduction of a highly skilled element in Agriculture and upon applied Science generally. . . .

The Guiana Scholarship.

Another lion in the path of rational education at Queen's College is the Guiana Scholarship.

This is the highest prize that a boy in the Colony can hope to attain, as it enables him to pursue advanced studies at any approved University in the United Kingdom or the Dominions. The election to this Scholarship is by Ordinance made to depend upon the results of an examination under the Regulations of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examinations Board which, like the Cambridge Local, and other similar examinations, lays no stress upon the special requirements of the Colony. It therefore follows that only a boy brought up on Classical lines or on pure Mathematics, or academic Natural Science, is eligible. The successful candidate proceeds to a University, usually in Great Britain, adopts some profession, most frequently that of a Doctor or Barrister, and, if he becomes highly proficient in his calling, seldom returns to British Guiana. The present

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regulations governing the Guiana Scholars, therefore, not only unduly influence the curriculum of the school in favour of academic professions, but, as Sir John Harrison with great cogency has pointed out, provide the surest and best means of encouraging the highest talent of Georgetown to leave the Colony. No sort of encouragement is given to the future captains of Industry, Commerce, or Scientific Agriculture, notwithstanding the fact that it is in these directions that the Colony is in the most pressing need of development. Everything is done – and on a generous scale – to promote the professions, but for the important class of producers less than nothing.

Major Bain Gray, reporting to the Colonial Office as Commissioner of Education in 1925, painted damning pictures of stagnation and neglect.[3] Even the primary schools ignored the difference between town dweller and country dweller, between the child in England and the child in British Guiana. Much the same could have been written about Jamaica at that time. Concern for agricultural, technical, and trades education in any general sense, and outside the immediate context of the big plantation, also came late, much later than in Jamaica. To the few grammar schools and the academic education they dispensed, the term "élitist" is appropriate – they continued to be "good," in a narrow academic sense, but indifferent to their local environment. Moreover, in contrast to Jamaica, up to the time of World War II girls were at a disadvantage in respect of secondary education; the number of girls enrolled in secondary schools was generally lower than the number of boys, and girls had no access to an education in science. There was no government secondary school for girls. The public authorities left education too much in the hands of the churches. As regards teacher education, there was no local training insitution until 1928; prior to that date British Guiana depended upon outside institutions, including the Mico in Jamaica.

It is a commonplace of Third World strategy, when dealing with social and economic issues in national development, to paint the colonial past in the murkiest colours. Yet we have to accept at face value an appraisal cited recently by C. L. Baird, M.P., a Guyana Minister of Education. This was that in 1964 British Guiana was a colony "with an educational system not only rooted in the past but so inchoate and confused as to render it almost stultifying to all but the brightest brains and certainly frustrating to the majority of our teachers." To the teachers went the herculean task of reconstructing an educational system "to produce, in the shortest time possible, Guyanese with adequate skills to meet our needs, and at the same time to broaden the scope and to change the content of the curriculum to provide for the total development of each child."[4]

This leads to a reflection on the peculiar resemblances in the political direction of the two countries, both of which, like their neighbour Cuba, have adopted a socialist ideology. Guyana's total swing to the left happened twenty years before Jamaica's less direct, less popular, though not necessarily less

decisive adoption of democratic socialism as a political creed. Disillusionment in both Guyana and Jamaica was a consequence of circumstances in which education was a powerful factor influencing both the scenario and the script writers. The difference of rate of speed in the advance of disillusionment was the result of equally powerful factors – physical and demographic, of course, and also historical. In the words of Peter Simms:

> Each of Britain's three classes affected the Guyanese: the Governor and his staff, the big business managers, and the professional and technical employees. By closing the doors to the higher technical and managerial posts, Britain forced the best brains of her colonies into two professions: law and medicine. Law offered both the greatest possibilities for social and financial gain and was therefore vastly over-crowded. In this way Britain gave to her political opponents men who by training and ability were ideally suited to speak to the people, to organise them, and so to lead them that they took advantage of everything that the law allowed . . . and, if they were arrested to stand up in court and defend them. It was an explosive legacy.
>
> Guyana was a small and largely forgotten country. It was run by a closed oligarchy under pressure from its masters at home who tended to take the short-term and narrow view of any situation. Even in 1953 the long, coastal strip where most of the wealth and the population lay was nothing more than a tropical Gorbals, an enormous slum from which the underprivileged – whether Indian, Negro, Chinese or Portuguese – could look across the seemingly impregnable positions of the British and a carefully selected few Guyanese.
>
> Only in these terms can one understand the post-war swing to the left by both the intelligentsia and the worker.[5]

In the current education policies of the two countries there is a close parallel: the objectives of egalitarianism and the emphasis on cooperation,[6] on "the politics of participation," and on self-reliance are characteristic of both. Guyana has determined that education take place at the psychological level and involve "de-brain washing,"[7] as well as the skill level to enable the country to feed, clothe, and house itself by self-help. Jamaica has proclaimed adherence to the principle of the "total school." The total school will be involved in the political process; it will promote all forms of manual work; it will participate in economic production; it will prepare young people to approach life in a participatory rather than an expectant frame of mind.[8] Both countries have launched processes to promote indigenous cultural development through training and the use of hero myths; both are engaged in the task of filling institutional gaps in their education systems to complete the spectrum of provision for training; both are securing the ideological base by formal and informal methods duly backed up by adjustments of an administrative kind.

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NOTES

1. See Report of the British Guiana Constitutional Commission, 1954, H.M.S.O., Cmd. 9274, paragraph 20.

2. Known as the Wynn-Williams Report. The Report is of the Commission of Enquiry into the Education of the Colony of British Guiana, 1924-25 (Georgetown, 1925).

3. Wynn-Williams Report.

4. Miss Baird's article, "Growth Points in Education – A Decade of Change," is the first of several chapters in the government publication *Guyana: A Decade of Progress* (Georgetown, 1974).

5. Peter Simms, *Trouble in Guyana: People and Personalities* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), p. 64.

6. See, for example, the government publication *Coop Republic* (1970), and Michael Manley, *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (London: André Deutsch, 1974).

7. See article by L. F. S. Burnham in *Coop Republic*.

8. See the Prime Minister's Address to the Sixth Commonwealth Education Conference, Kingston, Jamaica, 1974.

10
Teacher Satisfaction and Salary Issues: Comments from Ghana and Jamaica

Kwabena Bame

Kwabena Bame is a faculty member at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. He taught in the schools of Ghana for a number of years. His writings have appeared in a variety of African, North American, and European sociology journals.

The discussion in this paper opens with a brief examination of how Ghanaian elementary teachers' salary and conditions of service have operated in the past to influence their attitudes to their work and profession. Using information from the writer's Ghanaian study (Bame, 1972) and the *Murray Report on Primary Education* (Murray, 1974) in Jamaica, it continues with a comparison of the data on teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction in Ghana and Jamaica, briefly indicating some of the consequences of teacher dissatisfaction in the two countries. It concludes with an analysis of the general issue of the real and the camouflage role which salary seems to play in job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, calling for collaboration and cooperation between policy-makers and researchers in handling teacher satisfaction and salary issues.

How Ghanaian elementary teachers' salary and other conditions of service operated in the past to influence their attitude to their work and career plans can be gleaned from the reports of past Directors of Education. One such Director, Mr. George Macdonald, clearly pointed out in his 1893/94 report that teachers' salaries were extremely low and that the low salaries were causing constant teacher dropout. He suggested two remedies to rectify the situation (Education Department, Annual Report, 1894, p. 20):

- There should be a recognized official grading of teachers;
- Each grade should carry a recognized annual salary under an agreement between managers and teachers.

These and other actions taken by the educational authorities to arrest the problem of teacher dropout seem to have achieved that purpose. Commenting on the good effects which improved salary and conditions of service had had three decades later, another Director of Education, Mr. D. J. Oman, quoted remarks from field inspectors to substantiate improvement in teachers' attitude to their work. He wrote:

> One Provincial inspector notes "Teachers are not only smarter in appearance, but they exhibit more interest and keenness in their work. The more prosperous and settled nature of their employment has increased their incentive." Another remarked: "The improved status of mission teachers appears to have reacted favourably upon the tone of the schools." (Education Department, Annual Report, 1928)

The quotations from the two Directors of Education clearly show that even at this early state of educational development in the Gold Coast colony, salary and other conditions of service had the potential effect of either driving teachers away from teaching and into alternative employment or retaining them in the teaching service.

The salaries of teachers in the mission schools, referred to in the preceding quotation, were generally lower than those of teachers in the small number of government schools. There were two reasons for the disparity. First, the missions did not have enough funds to provide adequate salaries. Second, in those days (and the idea seems to persist in the minds of some Ghanaians even to the present time) teaching as usually undertaken by teacher-catechists was regarded as "sacrificial work."

However, teachers in mission schools or non-government schools had a guaranteed salary scale, although their pay and general conditions of service remained a source of discontent until 1950, when the Erzuah Committee made recommendations to rectify the situation.

The Erzuah Committee recommended that the elementary teaching service should be unified, that teachers in both government and non-government schools should be put on the same salary and pension scales, and that the government should cease to treat "government teachers" as a special class set apart by the fact of government-school employment rather than qualifications or responsibilities. This recommendation was implemented in 1956.

The result of the Committee's recommendations was appreciable increases in the starting salaries of the various grades of teachers. Pupil teachers at the bottom of the hierarchy, who before the recommendations received £42 per annum, now started with £84. The starting pay for certificate "B" teachers increased from £72 to £100 per annum, and that for certificate "A" teachers from £84 to £150.

But as is to be expected in economic matters of this kind, a chain reaction soon set in. Workers in other occupations and professions in Ghana demanded

similar improvements. Thus the few years which followed the implementation of the Committee's proposals saw salary increases for employees in other occupations, which in fact often offered better working conditions. Consequently, between 1956 and 1960 approximately 3000 teachers left the Ghanaian teaching service for alternative jobs such as in the social welfare services and broadcasting; the annual wastage amounted to 8.7 percent.

This alarming wastage made the government offer teachers still better conditions of service, commonly referred to as the "New Deal for Teachers." The New Deal made further increases in salaries. The pupil teacher was now put on a salary scale of £G144 to £G180. Certificate "B" teachers received salary increases which varied between £G35 and £G85 depending upon their years of service. Furthermore, embodied in the New Deal was the stipulation that 12 percent of the certificate "A" teachers were to be promoted Senior Teacher and put on a scale of £G700. In addition, a new grade of Principal Teachers, who would have a salary scale of £G900, was to be created. This was really a "new deal," because prior to its implementation the maximum salary an elementary teacher ever earned was less than £G500. Since the New Deal, further increases in teacher salaries have been made.

Such improvements have been achieved mainly through the efforts of teachers' professional associations, whose origin and development in Ghana we now examine.

Teachers' Associations

Mr. Oman's report, from which we have quoted excerpts, indicates that what with the Education Ordinance of 1925 "having raised teaching to a profession, teachers gained higher status and the moment was ripe for binding them together so that the efficiency of the individual might be improved by the promotion of discussion of questions concerning the profession generally."

Indeed, Mr. Oman himself, the then Director of Education, did bind some teachers together in 1926 to form the first teachers' professional association in Ghana. Soon after its formation, branches of it or similar associations were formed in other parts of the country. By December 1927 there were in existence as many as 62 branches having a total membership of 997.

Since it was formed on the initiative of a colonial boss and employer, it is not surprising that the aims of this first association were to be "definitely non-political and non-sectarian." Aimed mainly at upholding professional ideals and raising the standard of work in schools, it paid little or no attention to conditions of service.

However, this professional idealism was soon to change in response to the economic realities of the time. The Gold Coast too felt the effects of the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, which led to a reduction in salaries of teachers in 1931. The teachers reacted quickly by forming in 1932

the first teachers' organization founded to improve their conditions of service – "The Assisted Schools Teachers' Union," which later became the Gold Coast Teachers' Union under the leadership of its first president, Mr. J. T. M. Yankah. The Union was able to prevail upon the authorities to minimize the proposed cut in salary and later to withdraw it completely.

Encouraged by this initial achievement, the Union now turned its attention to other main objectives: namely, the securing for all teachers (government teachers, mission school teachers, and local council teachers) common conditions of service, salary scale, and pension scheme. These objectives were to remain unrealized until African leaders took the reins of power. The government formed under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in the early 1950s desired the same changes, and in 1955 passed the Teachers' Pension Ordinance. In the following year the teaching service was finally unified; government teachers lost their special status, but had the option of either retiring or transferring to Mission or Local Authority employment.

To return to the development of teachers' associations: Once they had started, they began to multiply. Between 1945 and 1950 there emerged a number of small associations – some based on religious affiliation, others on subject taught, others on the level of the education system at which the teachers taught. There were, for instance, unions of Presbyterian, of Methodist, and of Catholic school teachers, as well as of government school teachers, of African graduate teachers, and of mathematics teachers.

But unity is strength, and the unions were aware of this fact. Thus during the 1940s and 1950s the various teachers' associations felt the need to form one organization. Attempts to this effect culminated in the amalgamation of the Gold Coast Teachers' Union and a smaller group, the National Union of Teachers. However, it is one thing to agree to unite and another to show unity in practice. There never was any unity among the unions in practice, and no single organization could claim the allegiance of all the teachers' unions and present their case effectively to the government.

The government was in due course to impose unity by legislation. Its Industrial Act of 1958 radically changed the structure of trade unionism in Ghana. It brought into being a new Trade Union Congress embracing all trade unions in the country. "One of its members was to be a single union for teachers and non-teaching staff of educational institutions" (McWilliam, 1959, p. 67). This Act and subsequent amendments to it made necessary a formation of a "union of teachers and cultural services." All teachers were automatically members of it and by definition members of the Trade Union Congress, for which union dues were deducted at source from teachers' salaries as from the wages and salaries of all employees in the unions forming the Congress.

It is true that birds of different feathers find it difficult to flock together if they ever do; and so teachers, being a professional group, did not find it

comfortable for their union to be in one big Congress with the unions of railway workers, electrical workers, public service workers, and so on. Moreover, the teachers felt that the T.U.C. was overly politicized. Thus they made representations to the government concerning their wish to be outside the T.U.C. To support their case a referendum was held in which teachers voted overwhelmingly in favour of staying outside the Congress. Consequently the government in 1967 agreed to their request (and to that of nurses, who had made similar representations).

Having opted out of the T.U.C., the teachers formed the Ghana National Association of Teachers (G.N.A.T.) embracing all teachers in educational institutions below the level of university. In other words (according to its constitution, which was drawn in 1963 in response to instructions from the Minister of Education), all teachers in pre-university institutions are members, with the exception of pupil teachers, who are associate members. The membership is thus compulsory, but in recent years a few teachers have challenged the legality of this compulsory membership and in some cases have refused to pay the membership dues sanctioned by the Ministry of Education (Bediako, 1970). G.N.A.T. and its predecessors have some appreciable achievements to their credit. To summarize, through representations to the government and to committees, the teachers' union has brought about:

- improvement in salaries of all categories of teachers;
- a unified teaching service with an identical pension scheme for all certificated teachers;
- longer holidays for pupils and teachers;
- some avenues for promotion such as to Senior Teacher, Principal Teacher, Senior Subject Master, and Vice-Principal (the last two in secondary schools and training colleges).

Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction of Teachers – Ghana and Jamaica

It is in the light of such historical background that the present writer conducted a study of Ghanaian elementary teachers' job satisfaction and teacher attrition and dropout (Bame, 1972). The object of the study was to identify and analyse factors and sources of satisfaction/dissatisfaction in teaching and the consequences of these attitudes.

A survey method was used to collect the data from a national probability sample of approximately 6 percent (N=23 546) of all professionally trained teachers, including head teachers, in the Ghanaian public elementary education system, and from seventy ex-teachers. The Getzels-Guba social process model of organizational behaviour (Getzels and Guba, 1957) was adopted and amplified for the study.

The verification of the model and of the hypotheses derived from it reveals that the teachers' job satisfaction is partly determined by their role-expecta-

tions and the role-performance of school administrators, as well as by their commitment and the degree to which they (especially male teachers) perceive that their relevant needs are met in teaching. Likewise, the teachers' satisfaction is also significantly but negatively related to their perception of job alternatives: while teachers who report a high level of job satisfaction are more likely to plan to remain in teaching, male teachers who plan to leave teaching are dissatisfied with their salary and prospects in teaching vis-à-vis their perception of other possible careers. The analysis also reveals that the most satisfying aspects of elementary teaching in Ghana are its steady and secure nature and the criteria of qualification and efficiency used for promotion in the service. On the other hand, the most dissatisfying aspects are poor remuneration, lack of opportunity for advancement, low prestige – a frustrating reversal of the high prestige which teachers enjoyed in the past – and poor relationships with supervisors.

The data, unsurprisingly, also show that Ghanaian teachers transmit both positive and negative values and attitudes about teaching as a career to their pupils. As to be expected, more dissatisfied than satisfied teachers transmit negative ideas and values about teaching. Thus dissatisfied teachers are not only potential dropouts but also transmitters of negative values and attitudes. The study again shows that dissatisfied teachers are inclined to be absent from school more often.

Some of the findings yielded by the Ghanaian study parallel information on Jamaican teachers revealed in the *Murray Report* (1974).

How did teachers in the two countries perceive their status, taking the past image of a teacher as their yardstick? At the times of both the Ghanaian survey and the Jamaican inquiry, we find that the Jamaican teachers and their Ghanaian counterparts were experiencing low prestige and status. In each case they were dissatisfied with their perceived status, and their perceptions influenced their attitude to the teaching service.

The crucial factors that seem to have contributed immensely to the lowering of the status and prestige of teachers in the two countries were also similar: inferior salary and conditions of service and the dilution of the teaching personnel with low-calibre staff – pupil teachers in Ghana and teachers "much lower down the socio-economic scale than previously" in Jamaica (Murray, 1974, p. 35). The latter situation reflects the urgent need to increase the teaching personnel in the rapidly expanding education sectors.

Poor remuneration and lack of opportunity for advancement, two of the factors that generate considerable dissatisfaction among Ghanaian teachers, are also included in the list of causes of dissatisfaction in Jamaica. Thus the Jamaican teacher's "own disadvantaged position in a society where material wealth tends to increase rapidly among the privileged few and to be valued, causes him to be envious, dissatisfied and restless. He tends to be ashamed of his status as a teacher and to disclaim the label whenever it is convenient to

do so. He seeks by any fair means to increase his earnings so that he will be able to keep up with the Joneses" (Murray, p. 38).

Another factor in Jamaica as well as Ghana is the teachers' perception of better-paid employment outside the teaching service.

But Ghanaian and Jamaican teachers do not perceive their profession solely as a repository of dissatisfaction any more than they perceive it solely as an embodiment of an untainted satisfaction. They derive some satisfaction from it. In fact, in both Ghana and Jamaica, some heads of schools "are able to lead their colleagues to find fulfilment in professional accomplishment at the level of the school. There are those teachers who see their role in the light of service to a community and a given set of children. There are those whose vision of the future of their country remains bright and who see themselves as instruments in its fulfilment" (Murray, p. 37). These are among those who remain in the teaching service even at a time of excessive teacher dropout in the two countries.

Again, the steady and secure nature of teaching as an occupation seems also to have appeal to the Jamaicans. Those Jamaican teachers who are dissatisfied with poor remuneration remain in the service, as do some Ghanaian teachers, because they are not able to find better positions outside and can count on teaching. They look to the school to give them "the security of a steady income," which they (again like their Ghanaian counterparts) try to supplement with earnings from outside.

The Consequences of Dissatisfaction

If these similar causal factors of satisfaction and dissatisfaction among Ghanaian and Jamaican teachers seem intriguing, even more revealing and perhaps educative to policy-makers in the two countries are the consequences of dissatisfaction, some of which have been implicitly touched on in passing.

We have noted above that as a consequence of dissatisfaction with salary and other conditions of service, approximately 3000 trained teachers left the Ghanaian teaching service between 1956 and 1960 for jobs outside teaching such as in the social welfare service and broadcasting. Murray notes a similar alarmingly high turnover of Jamaican teachers. From 1937 onwards considerable numbers of Jamaican teachers left teaching for better-paying jobs such as in the welfare service, the bauxite industry, financial institutions, and commercial enterprises.

Moreover, in both Ghana and Jamaica a large proportion of teachers were in teaching because they did not have immediate alternative jobs or "were using teaching as a stepping stone to other ambitions." Again, as indicated above, some of these teachers "engaged in outside economic activities to the detriment of their professional work in school."

Other consequences of teacher dissatisfaction such as absenteeism or ad-

vising pupils not to choose teaching, which we have found among Ghanaian teachers, might be conjectured to be the case among Jamaican teachers too.

Real and Camouflage Role of Salary in Job Satisfaction

From satisfaction and dissatisfaction among Ghanaian and Jamaican teachers, we now shift focus to the examination of the general issue of the real and camouflage role which salary plays in job satisfaction.

The literature on job satisfaction and work attitudes clearly shows that money is one undisputed source of people's motivation to work. They work in anticipation of money, which they get to exchange for their needs. The connection between salary and satisfaction has been revealed in several studies. Studies conducted in British factories (Marriott and Denerley, 1955) and studies carried out in the United States – one based on a national sample (Center and Cantril, 1946) and another a follow-up study of gifted children by Terman and Oden (1959) – all show that income level and job satisfaction are positively related. Reiner (1957) found that inadequate salary was one of the factors which made the teachers he studied leave the teaching profession. Research by Rudd and others (1962) on some 432 teachers from the University of Manchester School of Education revealed similar findings. Phipps's study (1968) of Ugandan teachers and Nelson's (1970) of Congolese teachers also revealed that salary was one of the dissatisfying factors indicated.

Another aspect of the role of money in the motivation of workers has been explored by Herzberg and his colleagues (1959). From the findings of their study, they have formulated their motivation-hygiene theory: using an analogy from the medical field, they call dissatisfiers – those factors which they claim cause worker dissatisfaction – the "hygiene" factors. They see these factors, one of which is money, as extrinsic, in that they are not part of the work itself but are merely related to the conditions under which the job is carried out. In their view, "a good hygiene environment can prevent job dissatisfaction but cannot create true satisfaction or happiness" (Herzberg, 1968). They argue that because money is a hygiene factor, when workers clamour for higher salary and get it, their satisfaction is of short duration and very soon they begin to clamour for more money again.

The work of Herzberg and his colleagues, and others who have put their theory to empirical test, thus seems to have raised some query about the all-important role which salary is believed to play in workers' motivation.

However, researchers in this area do not seem to have addressed themselves to one pertinent question: Do workers sometimes present low wages or salary as a meaningful and acceptable object for complaint and strike action while their real motivating cause may be the low social prestige of their work, or their desire to be treated with dignity by their employers, or their perceived need for improvement in any other conditions of service? We have some evi-

dence to suggest that this is so. Examination of this evidence is the focus of this section of the paper.

An anecdote may illustrate the point. When American baseball players struck in April 1972, they did so ostensibly to improve their pay, asking for increases and for other fringe benefits. Yet when an agreement between the players and the owners was reached, a leader of the players stated in a televised press conference that the real cause of their strike action was their desire to be treated with dignity by the baseball owners. Presumably the leader was right. Perhaps the players wanted to be treated with respect and dignity. They may have reasoned that the issue of lack of respect and dignity might not be acceptable to the public, whose sympathy they needed, as sufficient grounds for a strike action at a time when baseball fans all over North America were eagerly looking forward to the games. So they presented low salary, which in their view would elicit public sympathy.

So much for the anecdotal evidence. The substantive empirical evidence which suggests that sometimes workers disguise other causes of their job dissatisfaction in the form of inadequate salary comes from the writer's study mentioned above.

One of the hypotheses derived from the model of the study and verified by empirical data is that a male Ghanaian elementary teacher's plan to leave teaching will be positively related to his dissatisfaction with his salary and opportunity for advancement and his perception of job alternatives available. In order to identify factors which the teachers perceive as sources of dissatisfaction sufficient to make teachers leave teaching, they were asked to rank the following eight reasons why teachers leave the profession. Head teachers and ex-teachers were likewise asked to rank the reasons. The list is given in the order of their rankings.

1. inadequate or poor salary
2. lack of opportunity for promotion in teaching
3. low prestige in elementary teaching
4. poor relationship with supervisors
5. frequency of transfers in teaching
6. lack of opportunity to perform a useful service
7. poor relationship with fellow teachers
8. inability to teach well

The teachers similarly ranked the reasons which would make them personally leave teaching. The data and these rankings clearly showed that poor salary and lack of opportunities for advancement are the two principal reasons why teachers leave.

This finding raised an intriguing question. The annual income of Ghanaian teachers, like that of their counterparts elsewhere in Africa, is several multiples of the average per capita income in Ghana (4.2 times in the elementary

schools and 14.0 times in the secondary schools). Why is it that teachers still perceive salary as the most dissatisfying factor in their work? It appeared that the best way to find an answer to this question was to identify the group with whom the teachers compare themselves when thinking about their income. Thus the teachers in this study were asked to indicate their reference group. It is clear from the listing that, as Phipps (1968) found in the case of Ugandan teachers, their single largest reference group is civil servants. The next single largest reference group comprises school or college mates (who may also be civil servants).

Parents	6.7%	Industrial workers	11.2%
Siblings	3.8	Petty traders	5.3
Other relatives	2.0	All others	3.2
School or college mates	21.2	No answer	4.4
Civil servants	42.2		

The teachers' use of civil servants as their comparison group seemed to explain why they felt relatively deprived: they had evidence that comparable counterparts in the civil service were ahead of them not only in salary but in opportunities for advancement. In the past a civil servant could begin from a clerical assistant post and, depending upon his hard work and self-improvement, could climb up the promotional ladder to become an administrative officer or a senior civil servant. An elementary teacher, on the other hand, unless he was lucky enough to be one of the few head teachers who received some allowance in addition to their pay, remained where he was for most of his career, with small annual increments in his salary.

The Ghana National Association of Teachers submitted their claim on this disparity to the Mills-Odoi Commission (1967), set up in 1967 by the National Liberation Council to examine the structure and remuneration of the Ghanaian public services and make recommendations. After studying the teachers' claim of disparity the Commission concluded:

> We have been left in no doubt that morale is not high in the teaching service and that there is widespread dissatisfaction at the alleged disparity between their conditions of service and those of other civil servants. We have made some comparisons and are satisfied that there is some disparity – not so much at the entry levels as in the prospects for advancement. For the majority of officers in the executive class, scale B3 with a maximum of N₵1,660 is the likely career terminal point – and many do not reach that point. The comparable career point in the teaching service is the senior teacher's scale with a maximum of N₵1,400. Again many never reach the point. (p. 42)

In order to rectify such disparities and other anomalies in the Ghanaian public services, the Commission recommended a single unified public service with a "unified salary structure with standard rules of progression within

which all posts should be assigned appropriate salary range" (p. 34). The unified public service was to comprise the civil service, the local government service, the teaching service, the police service, and the prison service. Members of the unified service were to have similar pension schemes and comparable salary scales – in short, similar conditions of service. The Commission went further to work out a comprehensive salary structure, with ranges in each of which would be five levels.

The Ghanaian government accepted these and other recommendations, and they became operative from 1 April 1969. This means that since April 1969 the Ghanaian teachers and their major reference group, the civil servants, have been put on comparable salary scales and other conditions of service; thus salaries have been equalized among the various categories of teachers, civil servants, and other public employees with equivalent educational qualifications. For example, the salary range for a certificate "A" teacher (post-middle school) is ₵612-₵1092; a comparable salary range for a police sergeant is ₵900-₵1044; for an executive officer, ₵660-₵936, and for a staff nurse, ₵660-₵1428.

In the light of this evidence, one would have thought that with the implementation of the Commission's report Ghanaian elementary teachers would indicate satisfaction with their salary. As shown by the analysis above, the evidence concerning their feelings about salary (collected for this study approximately *two years after* the implementation of the new salary structure) indicates otherwise. The data collected by means of both structured and unstructured questionnaire items conclusively show that the teachers still feel that their salary and opportunities for advancement are the two most dissatisfying components of their conditions of service. Thus, we are left with the puzzling question – why?

This question brings into focus the ambiguity which money as a cause of workers' dissatisfaction sometimes assumes and provides an empirical ground for our assertion that workers sometimes use money as a disguise for their protest against other grievances. We do not have empirical evidence to answer the question, but one or two reasons in line with the main argument of this section of the paper present themselves and may account for this persistent dissatisfaction with salary and opportunities.

First, the teachers' continuing dissatisfaction with their salary could be an instance of an insatiable desire of workers for money as discussed by Herzberg and his colleagues (1959) in their motivation-hygiene theory, briefly reviewed above. Second, it could be that the teachers, like the baseball players, are using salary as a meaningful symbol for expressing their discontent with other aspects of their work, such as the current low prestige of elementary teaching. We might note that the police and the army seem to enjoy increased prestige since their overthrow of the Nkrumah regime in 1966. Perhaps it is not mere coincidence that the army and the police turned out to be the two occupa-

tions which the largest number of teachers see as alternatives for themselves.

From this it may be hypothesized that, just as money is used as a medium of exchange for goods and services, so is it used as a convenient and sympathy-eliciting camouflage substitute for other dissatisfying factors in work situations. The anecdotal and empirical data examined in this paper call for the empirical verification of this hypothesis.

We may reiterate in conclusion that Ghanaian and most probably Jamaican teachers are rather well paid as compared with similar professions and certainly in the light of the average per capita incomes in their countries. They seem to receive salaries commensurate with the amount of work which most of them (not the innovative and creative ones) now do. This point touches on a currently burning issue: namely, how can administrators and policy-makers locate and reward appropriately truly innovative and creative teachers who may not be receiving what they deserve and also pinpoint the ineffective teachers with whom the tax-paying public ought to be dissatisfied? That is the rub.

It would seem that this is one of the areas where the efforts and cooperation of policy-makers and researchers would yield fruitful and desired results. In dealing with the problem of teacher dissatisfaction in either Ghana or Jamaica, policy-makers need always make sure that teachers' salaries and other conditions of service are comparable with those of employees outside the teaching service with similar qualifications. In the interest of the taxpayer too, researchers by virtue of their training and profession should aid the policy-makers by devising objective and fair means by which truly innovative teachers on one hand and ineffective teachers on the other may be pinpointed and commensurately treated.

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EDITORS' NOTE

Dissatisfaction with salaries is characteristic of teacher groups in many countries. The Jamaican teacher, although, as Bame suggests, enjoying a fair salary, is socially insecure and unhappy about the status accorded him. The situation is parallel with that in Ghana; and Bame's ancedote of the American baseball players applies exactly.

Teachers of other Third World countries will probably find, as has been found in Ghana and the Caribbean, that material gains can in certain circumstances prove counter-productive in the broad conspectus. In today's world the more the tactics of their struggle approximate to those of militant factory and field workers, the less respect they will gain as a body of persons dedicated to the cultivation of the mind. Teachers should mobilize their intellectual potential and raise the level of professional transaction. They ought to take more advantage of opportunities for academic and professional advancement.

Countries inheriting British management practice sometimes, as in Jamaica, have a board of governors or managers delegated by the bureaucracy in theory to employ, and often actually to control, teachers. Wholly relevant to the status of the teachers so "governed" is the community standing of such managers. Where illiteracy and unsophistication are no bar to appointment as managers, and political adherence is a primary consideration, heaven help the teachers! As the whole society rises in education, the teachers also rise, and participation in public affairs from members of all sections of the society becomes more confident and skilled.

11

Regionalization and Educational Planning in Ghana: Analysis of an Emerging System

Phyllis Mensah

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Regionalization, as a formal technique in educational planning in Ghana, is just over ten years old. Prior to the 1966 military coup, regional duties were performed by the staff of the Accra headquarters of the ministry responsible for education. After the coup, Regional Education Officers, vested with a wider range of responsibilities, were appointed.[1]

Not only were educational services to be regionalized; to correct the imbalance in the regional distribution of secondary schools, decision-makers, among other things, planned to formalize a trend that had already started, in providing secondary school places for approximately 10 percent of the number of pupils "potentially eligible to enter" within each region.[2] The Ghana Educational Trust was established with funds amounting to £G2.5 million to implement this plan for additional schools. That decisions do bear fruit in Ghana is evidenced by the fact that whereas there were 51 secondary schools in 1951, by 1960 there were 59, and statistics for the academic year 1974/75 show 177 secondary and commercial schools in the country.

Despite the decisions to promote regionalization, however, this strategy has been only partially successful. A number of factors, not the least of which has been inadequate research, are responsible. This paper analyses some of these factors and their relevance for contemporary planning.

Regional Planning

Educational regionalization may be defined as the division of a country into a network of areas for the provision of educational services. As it is being implemented in the Third World, and particularly in Ghana, it revalues the resources available for education and broadens access to the services. In theory, if not in practice, the technique broadens access to education itself. In Ghana, the regional framework of the Ghana Teaching Service[3] coincides spatially with the political regions utilized for overall governmental administration and planning. Within the regional divisions are the regional headquarters and the district centres used for educational services for primary and middle schools as well as for the other institutions below the university and college levels.

Regional planning by an incumbent government is usually conceived of in the context of an assortment of areas which have some logical arrangement for the very practical (if limited) purpose of administration. The management of a bank or an advertising firm or an opposition party might well perceive the same assortment of areas (or an entirely different assortment) in terms of maximizing profit or public relations as well as carrying out ancilliary functions of administration. It is important at the outset to consider that it is not the demarcation of regions but what is done within the regional framework that is crucial to development. Moreover, it is always necessary for people to feel that they are included, and that their participation is found significant within some meaningful spatial unit. In the very successful Jamaican People's National Party's electoral campaign of 1971-72, the party utilized a regional framework established on a county basis, supported by a constituency organization, and further structured into polling divisions. This functional structure maximized communication with settlements throughout the country.[4] Significant things were happening within significant spaces.

Jamaican traditional practice in planning and organization has been to have individual or grouped parishes deal directly with a central authority which operated and took decisions in the capital town. In Ghana as well, at least since the last two decades of the nineteenth century and up to the 1960s, it had been increasingly the practice in many areas of administration to work directly with central government. In many British colonies, centralization has sometimes been effective in establishing formal systems of education given a limited manpower base and funding. The upgrading of teaching efficiency, good academic standards, and sometimes intellectual excellence have been achieved in centrally managed systems. Centralization of educational services served to standardize administration; moreover, some of the best advantages of social and physical distance were achieved in the mystique of the remote authority. The school inspector evoked much respect, and the local school teachers, as representatives of the authority and having authority in their own right, were highly regarded in the communities where they worked.

Centralization, however, benefited the few and arose from a metropolitan authority. It served an era and a system in which administrative skills were thinly spread. With unprecedented growth rates in rural population taking place alongside rapid urbanization, Third World countries which have moved through self-government to political independence have perceived that nation-building requires a certain minimum inclusiveness that was lacking in the highly centralized system. Put simply, regionalization attempts to make things happen for more people and ideally for all people as a consequence. Several Third World countries have therefore launched various programmes of decentralization or, more fundamentally, regionalization.

Regional planning is a comparatively new technique even in the developed countries; in most countries the approach to regionalization has been through varying degrees of decentralization. This has certainly been the case in the United Kingdom, the country which has had most influence on formal education both in Ghana and in Jamaica. While decentralization can be effected with little fanfare (and is well within the British tradition of choice technology), the decision for regionalization is politically difficult as it entails the demarcation of boundaries and directorships as well as the allocation of finance on criteria which require several levels of consensus. Regionalization entails a political decision. Here the Jamaican case is instructive. Jamaica has flirted with the idea since 1940, with almost a dozen bodies coming up with recommendations of various kinds.[5] The proposed establishment (1976) of regional planning offices in Highgate, May Pen, and Montego Bay, under a Projects Division in the National Planning Agency in the capital, signifies the engagement (if not the marriage) of a regional technology of choice with national decision-making in Jamaica. As no legislation exists for regionalization, policy and implementation decisions operate in an ad hoc system of decentralization. Systematic decentralization of various services, including education, might well be the answer to Jamaica's re-planning needs, in view of its size (11 400 square kilometres, about the size of Yorkshire in the U.K. or Connecticut in the U.S.A.).

As regards educational planning in Jamaica, the National Planning Agency has representatives who work directly with the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education; but, as observers have pointed out, the unit does not "plan" but merely identifies projects for land acquisition, budgetary allocations, or technical assistance. The present writer had liaison with the Ministry as representative of the National Planning Agency on the Ministry of Finance's Land Acquisition Committee; it was clear that inter-ministerial and inter-disciplinary contributions were necessary for the regionalization of educational services. It was further evident that in all ministries, well-formulated projects and adequate statistics needed to go hand in hand with political support and professional commitment. It is expected that the Ministry of Education, as indeed other ministries in Jamaica, will follow the lead of the National Planning

Agency on the basis of some statutory guidance on regionalization.

From a working experience gained in the Jamaican civil service under successive governments of two different political parties,[6] and from observations and research in an African country between 1962 and 1969 and currently, the writer is persuaded that the professional's technique is different from but can be complementary to the politician's. The former tends to take a long-term comprehensive planning approach, utilizing mechanisms based on trends and on projections. The politicians have tended to emphasize current performance and short-term solutions; this latter approach is perhaps worldwide and even necessary, as there is the need to view planning from budget to budget and often from election to election. Time horizons are different, and so are the spatial horizons. This appears to be true whether the country is large and continental, like Ghana or Nigeria, or indeed a small island such as Jamaica or Barbados. But a problem arises in that structural developers tend to think more like politicians and less like professional social scientists or regional planners. In educational planning, however, ad-hocracy is inadequate.

The politician, the social scientist, and the educational planner have to work with, and make prognoses within, the limitations of the developmental system. They often meet on common ground in pragmatic attempts to influence change in their countries. The forces of change are pervasive if not dominant in Ghana today, and the technique of regionalization, if not regional consciousness itself, is part of the change.

The Cultural Opportunities: Framework for Planning

"Regional consciousness" – the awareness among a certain group of people that they are the inhabitants of a unique region – is widespread in Ghana, predating the official regional designations and the demarcations of geographers and social scientists. The early missionaries and commercial agents who brought Western-type education to the Gold Coast successfully worked with this regional consciousness, as they were also thus conceptually prepared in terms of their own parochial arrangements. Fragmented along denominational lines, missionaries settled at particular places, for specific reasons, and they came to know these places intimately.[7] Native and immigrant alike evinced pride and self-congratulation mostly in terms of a limited geographical area, usually a town or village. Regional consciousness for many contemporary Ghanaians is expressed quite often in social contexts: "I am from the North, Bawku." "I am an Ewe; I come from Aflao." "Nkawkaw – do you know that place? You should visit there some time; that's my home town."

Most Ghanaians live in distinctly rural communities. Of the 60 000 localities enumerated in the 1970 census, only 137 were urban. The fact that over

50 percent of the population of Ghana live in settlements of less than 1000 persons offers opportunities as well as constraints for all planners. For educational planners, there are the opportunities of face-to-face contact with a small community and the ability to mobilize a small group for school programmes, such as building.

Furthermore, the small unit, one would think, will be the ideal milieu in which to place the "new type of teacher" required in a programme to diversify education and to introduce practical skills at as early a level as possible in each course level,[8] for such a teacher should allow himself to be guided by the materials and opportunities of his immediate environment.

The initial constraints on developing plans for small-area educational units are budgetary and managerial. Few communities in Ghana are economically able to support the provision of school building, housing for staff, electricity, and other services. The small area in Ghana is, however, "part of the milieu, part of the social and pedagogical texture" of the system, to adopt D'Oyley's terms in discussing educational innovations.[9]

The small area is an ideal setting for students to begin seeing space as an intelligible whole, but this is not necessarily a "planning region" for comprehensive investment and development. The problem of implementing a national plan for the regionalization of education or educational administrative centres in the 1970s or 1980s includes the reconciliation of realities not only of the spatial and demographic systems but also of the socioeconomic system as well. Foster suggests that despite the political implications of regional inequalities, on economic grounds efforts should be concentrated to distribute educational facilities in areas where demand is manifest rather than to diffuse education uniformly.[10] The perception of need will continue to be a trying question for educational planners in Ghana both in spatial and in socioeconomic terms. In the traditional social systems of Africa, political units were small and intimately connected with family and religion. Responsibilities and accountability in the Gold Coast, for instance, were elaborated in membership of a family or clan.[11] Though migration is causing diversification in tribal composition, the small-area unit is still highly comprehensible in a culture such as Ghana's. Unfortunately many managers do not have the social skills that have been built into chieftaincy.

African society has been viewed as no way different from the tribe and as such represents an extension of the family; in this view it is possible to build a democracy on these foundations. Nyerere, himself a teacher, has perceived this sort of nexus as a definite strength.[12] In Guinea-Bissau, political committees based on the *Tabana* or village now seek to ensure that administration and development have a wider base than under the former administration. Ghana has itself launched on the *Nnoboa* system to ensure comprehensive development in the rural areas; the question is how expensive is the model to

be. Tanzania's president has combined change with tradition in the *Arusha* settlements which have with some success brought together small communities to work in units within the framework of their best traditions.

For all such "villagization" groupings, public education programmes which promote a wider regional consciousness are needed. It is more likely than not that people will come together when they perceive common problems, solutions, and opportunities. Traditional societies in Africa have been structured on cooperation, fellow-feeling, and communal help.[13] The question remains as to whether educational services can contribute towards this regrouping. The majority of settlements in southern Ghana originated as places to accommodate fishing and farming populations. They were also centres for social life under the leadership of chiefs and religious officials.[14] Even the small territorial units operated on principles of accountability, participation, and hierarchy. It is from a knowledge of this kind of history that current educational leaders must function.

This kind of background also strongly suggests that the relevant contribution that geographers and other social scientists can make even today will rest on a small-area basis. Once it is determined what variables (such as age-structure and income) are most significant for educational planning, small areas can be studied on large-scale maps, so that such devices as are planned for a region will be articulated in a way that is both meaningful and economic. A humanized rather than a purely technical system, moreover, should ensure that the abstractions of regional and national plans have applicability at the local level.

In the interest of standardization, control, and economy, however, it is advanced that the region must be the basis from which districts and schools arise. It must be pointed out that although different scales of educational unit areas exist, the various levels have a functional interdependence to maintain. In Ghana's New Structure, duties are delegated to the Districts by Regional Directorates, who are responsible to the Supreme Military Council through the Ministry of Education. Every level has its special importance in the whole system.

There can be no doubt that regional planning and administration carry with them a capacity to tap what has often been thought of as the relatively immobile and highly localized resource, the school-age child. In Jamaica, the government has spoken of "taking the school to the pupils," guided by a policy to spread technical and secondary education to pupils who would be encouraged to stay in their home localities.[15] The desire for education and the lack of facilities in some places have been affecting migratory patterns in developing countries. Re-planning in Ghana needs to include the factor of movement of the youth. The listing below (from the 1960 census) is included to illustrate the scale of regional mobility of school-age children.

Region	*In*	*Out*
Western	6 070	6 060
Accra	7 720	4 050
Eastern	6 250	10 530
Volta	1 970	5 240
Ashanti	12 480	6 190
Brong Ahafo	1 950	1 860
Northern	2 260	770
	38 700	34 700

To many parents, teachers, and pupils, the question of adhering to regional boundaries does not arise in regard to school places. Officially, regionalization may be seen as taking a service to areas where few opportunities exist; it is often thought of as an exercise in social justice. Such thinking postulates that children remain *in situ*. In reality, however, the spread of educational facilities in developing countries means the opening up of further opportunities to those who own private means of transport and to those with higher incomes.[16] In Kampala or Mbale, as in Accra and Cape Coast, the children in the schools, especially the most reputable institutions, are drawn from all over the country.[17] The experience of many Jamaican school children who go to higher levels of education, and certainly that of the present writer, has been inter-parish mobility for education both in primary and secondary schools.

In Ghana, the fact that school facilities in the Northern Region are being utilized by pupils who migrate mostly from the Volta, Eastern, and Ashanti regions suggests that, with awareness, the pull exerted by educational facilities in a region can be strong enough to reverse the traditional north-to-south trek. Regionalization of education in Ghana has not sought to control inter-regional movement. The apparent postulate is that unequal regional development is uncontrollable. Both students and teachers move freely across regional boundaries. This institutional population, by its behaviour, is setting up its own regional pattern which is, in a real sense, in contradiction to the official regional framework.

Though élitism is a real factor in these demonstrated patterns,[18] cultural factors alone do not explain the situation, despite the fact that some of the results are distinctly cultural, as explained below. Economic factors play a great part in the motivation to circumvent planned regionalism. Socio-economic factors prevent many children of school age from accepting education in their own localities, or anywhere else, for that matter. Education at the primary and middle-school levels and for non-boarders is "fee-free" but not compulsory. It has been accepted that to try to enforce school attendance for everyone not only would be impossible but would reinforce resistance to formal education itself in the communities which are not fully convinced that education is worth the taking.[19]

The whole matter of the acceptance of education in Ghana is further complicated by the fact that many of the migrant school-age children, especially the girls, do not enter schools in their new locations; they merely go into domestic service. But rural people do send their children to urban relatives specifically for educational purposes.[20] Furthermore, some urban relatives that receive migrants see education as one of the aids they can offer to the family.[21]

In Ghana, the Mampong-Accra-Sekondi-Takoradi area in the south forms a "triangle of education." This is the triangle in which Christian missions and the government of the Gold Coast established most of the schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within the triangle education is diversified. There is access to university education, commercial training, teacher training, and technical education. Outside this triangle, education beyond the primary school is mainly confined to secondary and commercial education.

The "core areas" of the triangle are configured by urban agglomerations (settlements with 5000 or more inhabitants), inequalities of purchasing power, and the highly predictable preferences of the consumers of educational services. Geographical factors such as distance play little part in the behavioural pattern; but towns beyond the triangle as remote from Accra as Tamale (406 miles) or Bolgatanga (one hundred miles further), even if endowed with the best facilities, would hardly be favoured for the schooling of "bright" children from southern regions. The more successful schools and regions attract the best pupils. Those regions also have a higher proportion of children of eligible age in school.

The triangle itself forms one vast area that cuts across four regional boundaries. Its most intense activity takes place around those points on its periphery where the three universities are located. Within the centre would be those schools which close their class lists last, as they take the surpluses of the larger institutions. Notably, within the bounds of this region are the good bookshops, several libraries, housing on a large scale, real incomes, and developed economic activity. Moreover, this region has comparable schools, good transportation systems, and in general better shopping facilities than elsewhere in the country. It is safe to say that the real inter-regional movement is a circulation among the burgeoning towns of southern Ghana, and this movement would be most evident in the group being schooled at the secondary level. Here it has been said that the foundation laid within the triangle by Christian missionaries, including West Indians who arrived prior to the mid-nineteenth century, has been invaluable in the diffusion of ideas on family life, rural architecture and economy, child care, health, and sanitation. Certainly, Christianity has provided a hidden curriculum in which most of the educated of the country have been tutored.

Some of the educational institutions are still great agents of change and in-

tegration in the society, for in them there are usually students and teachers drawn from all over the country. Drawing on a national catchment area means that various languages, customs, and regional differences are being aired and exposed for inter-regional examination. Unfortunately, however, where there is a tendency to recruit students from local groups, ethnic rivalry and conflict have intensified.[22]

As with the students, the first choice of teachers for places of work would hardly be the Upper or Northern regions. While many educated persons extol the virtues of going to remote areas – the possibilities for saving, getting away from demands of the extended family, or getting to know a community well – there is no corresponding movement in this direction. Rural areas and pioneer work are not attractive to the average school leaver, and this is partly a fault of the education system. As Professor Dickson suggests:

> the training received in these institutions is not such as will encourage the educated person to go back to the countryside to participate in the process of development. Education rather swells the size of the urban population employed in clerical and administrative work.[23]

Fortes suggests that it should not be seen as unique to Ghana that the educated aim at white-collar jobs or at least jobs in the "European sector"; the same pattern occurs in India, Malaysia, and other Far Eastern countries emerging from pre-industrialism.[24] In Ghana, regional choice includes not only the factors of distance from the coast and accessibility, but also those of economic development and professional opportunity. Perceptive parents from among those in the modern value system, or those commanding higher incomes – often the same group – give low priority to remote areas as places for either business or residence. Both town-born and migrants give weight to income and amenities enjoyed in the towns.

Model-Building for Education Services

In developing countries, any effective overall plan for the operations of education will be based on a model in which all schools, particularly secondary schools, have comparable reputations; in which the facilities of the schools, especially those for science and mathematics, are equitably distributed; and in which transportation costs are somehow equalized. In such a model, the parental choice of school based, for instance, on old school ties or "relatives" on the staff has no weighting. To put this in more positive terms, fully employed parents remain in well-managed regions for at least the duration of the years of their children's schooling. This model postulates the development of the regions themselves, and a clear perceptual and operational relationship between the family and the regional institutions. As one head of a government in the Third World has stated it, only a highly integrated education system,

based on merit and founded within an egalitarian society, is worth considering at this time.[25]

The problems of a small state in the post-colonial era are in essence no different from those of the larger ex-colonies in the tropics. Inventiveness and flexibility are needed in tackling the regional problems of both Jamaica and Ghana, if the disparities in the education systems are to be overcome. Ghana's nine regions need flexible programmes.

The 1970 census reveals some examples of disparities that must be contended with. In regard to population structure the Northern region had rates of 16.9, 18.5, and 8.2 percent in the age ranges 1-4, 5-9, and 10-14, respectively. Ashanti, on the other hand, had 15.4, 16.9, and 13.4 percent in the same age groups. The educational facilities of the Ashanti region, however, are far ahead of those of the Northern region.

In 1970 only 18.3 percent of the children in the 6-14 age group in the Upper region attended school, compared with 73 percent in the same age group in Greater Accra.

Examination of data by sex and by region shows that in all regions fewer girls than boys attend school at all, and considerably fewer are still in school at age 15. In the Northern region, for example, in the 15-24 group 14.3 percent of boys and 3.1 percent of girls are in school; in Greater Accra the comparable figures are 32.3 and 18.7.

In Ghana's search for an integrated model for an egalitarian society, research is needed to ascertain why, of the 200 000 children who enter the school system each year, only 15 000 gain entry to secondary schools and just over 2000 go on to the universities.[26] A set of regional models, rather than an inflexible plan, is required. Realistic alternative models can only be expected after a series of small-area studies dealing with perceptions, behaviour, expectations, and resources. Decision-makers need this kind of information.

The New Structure and Content of Education, which has been prepared since 1973, will come into operation in 1980. Following the system in operation, it is likely that decisions about implementation of the New Structure will be carried out at the regional level, while the various Local Authorities will conduct the school building and amenity provision of their districts (in the field of education) on the advice of the assistant directors. These, along with the town development councils, are in a position to bring about change in the deep rural areas of Ghana.

Educational Re-planning

Ideally, decision-making ought to flow upwards from the lowest possible level of the hierarchy, from those I prefer to call the "front-liners"; these workers see the system from the nearest vantage point possible. This would not conflict with Ghanaian tradition. The 57 assistant directors in the Districts

and the school masters of some 10 794 schools should be allowed to use their perception, initiative, and ingenuity to interpret government policies in terms their localities can grasp. Unfortunately, though there are different tasks to be managed, not all regions are represented on the Accra-based National Council of the Ghana Teaching Service.

Aims of re-planning in Ghana point to other shortcomings in the education system. The New Structure should aim:

> . . . at serving the needs of the individual, the society in which he lives and the country as a whole.
>
> . . . at instilling in the individual, an appreciation of the need for change directed towards the development of the human and material resources of the country.

Seen as equally important is the third broad aim:

> . . . to generate in the individual an awareness of the ability of man, using the power derived from science and technology to transform his environment and improve his quality of life.[27]

Problems have been highlighted in other terms:

> Attempts to diffuse primary and middle-school education widely, have led to a series of unanticipated consequences. Sharp regional irregularities in educational provision still persist. The social significance of the academic secondary school has been enhanced; large scale unemployment has emerged among the products of primary and middle institutions. . . .[28]

It is to be hoped that the new arrangements in education will correct the system's defects, for pupil, teacher, and school leaver. Ultimately, this paper holds, the diffusion of realistic regionalism must come from the informed in the country. It is therefore encouraging to note that "lessons in geography, history, civics, etc. are arranged as to increase the children's social awareness in relation to the widening patterns of home, community, district, region, nation and the world."[29]

If these objectives and operations are effectively employed in Ghana, education itself will generate the best effects of regionalization in regionally conscious and functional school leavers, who in turn will directly and indirectly cause regionalism to be diffused throughout the country. The end-product, one would expect, will be the development of strong regional centres to coordinate the programmes of educational planning. To complement this, one must project an upgraded information base throughout all regions in an interweave that includes all communities. With the hierarchy of command and demand in the social structure, however, one can only hope that regional upgrading proves to be not dysfunctionally uneven but functionally dynamic.

NOTES

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26. Figures from Dzobo, "Teacher and the Society."

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EDITORS' NOTE

Phyllis Mensah brings out some highly important aspects of educational planning and administration which central bureaucracies ought always to bear in mind if the benefits of education are to be equitably distributed among the population. These include not only geographical factors but also regional variations in levels of parental ability to use schools to the best advantage of the children.

In Jamaica, with its mere 4400 square miles, administrative centralization has been the order of the day; rival ethnic groups and cultures such as Mensah mentions for Ghana do not exist. But any assumption that schools throughout the island have comparable efficacy or that such efficacy is necessarily independent of location would be invalid if only because so many of the population centres are located in rugged terrain where transport lines to and from the outside are tenuous and traffic is infrequent. Yet it is upon such a hypothesis that the notion of equal opportunity is predicated. Recently, the Ministry of Education effected a measure of decentralization of management, based on five regional offices. This well-intentioned innovation is, however, likely to be in places plagued with infrastructural deficiencies – hilly roads, unreliable telegraph, and an underdeveloped telephone system.

In a large country such as Ghana decentralization of some sort is indispensable. But it will be a long time before schools situated at the periphery can enjoy dispensation equal to what obtains on the coastal strip.

12

Management and Mismanagement of the School System since 1900

Reginald N. Murray

Reginald N. Murray, former Dean of the School of Education, University of the West Indies, has had a distinguished career as an educator in the Caribbean and Africa. He taught in the schools and teachers' college in Jamaica and served as that country's Chief Educational Advisor. He was also Chief Educational Advisor for the West Indies Federation and head of a United Nations education mission in Ethiopia and West Africa. His well-known writings include widely used school texts on Caribbean social studies, journal articles, and biographies.

It is desirable to point out that in this discussion, wherever the context permits, there is a blurring of the difference between the denotations of the terms *administration* and *management*. That is to say, the latter is used not to exclude executive and dispensing functions but to include with them all the involvements that are associated with the overseeing, control, and direction of the tasks necessary to an operation. Some of these tasks are discharged in the central office itself; some have to do with bodies outside, such as school boards, and the way they are carrying out their responsibilities to the schools. Another set of functions relates to schools and school personnel directly, and includes the handling of school resources, the leadership given to teachers, and the ordering of those objects, relationships, and processes that go together to make good pedagogy.

Originally ideas about management were, like virtually everything else in education, wholly British-derived, and by 1900 the management system had taken the shape it was to have without any significant change in conception to the present. In traditional British and present-day Jamaican practice, senior administrators and professional officers are not very much involved in manage-

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ment "in the sense of getting things done." In the British Education Act of 1944 the term *administrative* is used of functions that originate from London and the local education authorities; the system qua system is *administered*. However, primary and elementary schools are *managed*. At the same time secondary schools and colleges of various kinds have *governors*. None of these terms is defined in the Education Acts. Needless to say, the term *principal teacher* is also not defined. In Jamaica at any rate, the principal's role is not in legal terms regulated in any way on the basis of the fundamental character of that role.

In the development between 1900 and 1975 it is possible to discern two distinct periods. These are marked by differences in respect of objectives, management styles, and other factors. The great divide is the decade from 1944 to about 1955.

The first period lends itself easily to the description "colonial." Educational objectives in colonial times were clear in the minds of the higher administration, the locus of which was a line linking the central department of education in the colony's capital city with London. Management thus consisted of a London unit and the local counterpart. Objectives that were stated in operational terms were enthusiastically adhered to by local counterparts, who were an invariably white director of education with white or mulatto assistants. Subtler objectives were achieved through the curriculum, full as it was of material about Britain and the Empire, and through poetry and song taught to all school children until they were learnt by heart, in the truest sense: "Land of hope and glory, mother of the free;/How shall we extol thee who are born of thee?/Wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set;/God who made thee mighty make thee mightier yet!"

The primary function of the school, then, was to lay and maintain the bases for law and order, for loyalty to the Throne and Empire. The school served also as an instrument to restrain the educational ambitions of the masses and to render infertile any notion of political independence. Education was also designed to serve economic interests of the colonial power, which included the ability of the colony to support itself. The teaching of practical agriculture and manual training, including sewing for girls, was thus encouraged. The few and coveted high schools were intended to serve an unmistakably practical end: the provision of manpower for the civil administration. In short, colonial education was happily free of confusion in its aims. Post-colonial educational bureaucrats have never felt the like freedom.

The evaluative subsystems in colonial times were firm; they were well integrated into the larger system, and, within their limits, they worked. Those teachers whose performance was good could expect to reap the covenanted rewards. In money terms the rewards were modest; promotional ladders were short, and the elementary school teacher who became a full inspector of schools was, in the earlier days at least, the miraculous exception. In the post-

1955 era the evaluative system declined in relative size and in authority, effectiveness, and other important respects.

Important opinion in local society was attuned to colonial aims. Planter attitude to education is well documented and is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the verbatim report of the commission appointed to inquire into the system of education and its cost in 1898. Representative persons, including proprietors, planters, builders, storekeepers, etc., were emphatic in the view that schools should be supported not by the public but by the parents of the children who benefit. A child should not remain in school after the age of 12, with a few exceptions.[1] Schools were all right as a place to learn morals. Aside from this their value was doubtful: they were a danger to the agricultural labour supply.

Children of wealthy whites and some élites of mixed blood were educated in Britain, and a good classical education could be obtained by a few at Munro and Jamaica College. But in Jamaica there did not survive any school or college comparable in academic status, for example, to Codrington College in Barbados, Fourah Bay in Sierre Leone, Achimota in the Gold Coast (Ghana), Makerere in Uganda, or even, perhaps, Queen's Royal College in Trinidad.

As to the professional in the management echelons, he was invariably a generalist; the need for versatility was inherent in his job. A graduate fresh from London or Oxford could thus take his place at once as school inspector in charge of the work in two or three parishes and having under him two or three assistant inspectors who had risen to the top as headmasters of primary schools. In the post-colonial period the role of officers with specialist knowledge and experience has become recognized, and more and more persons variously qualified – in the teaching of particular subject areas, in measurement and evaluation, in curriculum development, and in child guidance – have been appointed. These, however, are to be found only in token numbers and they have not always been employed in such a way as to maximize their effectiveness. At the same time there has been a growing awareness of the value of training for administration, not only for the central office but also for the schools. The role of principals is being recognized to be crucial.

Control from the Centre

The Elementary Schools

In the early years there was a superintending inspector of schools whose bailiwick was island-wide and who was in charge of the Education Department. The Department comprised a secretariat and inspectors of schools. According to the Code of Regulations (vide, for example, the 1902 edition), the sum of money granted annually by the legislative council for public elementary education in Jamaica was "to be *administered* by the Education Department."

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Moving outward from the centre, the unit of control was the school, and each elementary school had to have three managers, at least two of whom were required "if possible to be resident in the vicinity of the school." Managers were held responsible for the conduct and supervision of schools and for their "maintenance in efficiency." It was expressly understood that teachers were employed by the managers and not by the Department. In the overwhelming majority of cases the numerical requirement was only formally met. For all intents and purposes, only one of the managers mattered, and he knew it – the minister in charge of the church under whose aegis the school had come into being and was maintained.

When government ownership of schools had become an actuality, parish school boards were in 1914 instituted to supervise the general working of the government schools. Parish school boards were also to advise the Board of Education on appropriate matters and to act as a board of appeal from the district school boards, which had direct responsibility for the running of the government schools. The management of such schools was effectively a collective responsibility and usually carried out with due sophistication. Teachers in government schools boasted the morale of free men. The only voluntary elementary schools with similar management were the few Trust schools such as Titchfield and Vere. Managers received no salary. They were the trustees of grants made for the school. The inspector's duty was specified; he was to visit schools and report whether the conditions of the annual grants were fulfilled. Later, certainly after 1916 when the payment-by-results system had been in vogue for some time, these officers were required not only to examine but to give advice in regard to the "organisation and work and to report on efficiency."

Inspectors and managers reported on schools, and while their official relations with a teacher might be exercised through the principal out of courtesy or convenience or good sense, their action *de jure* was independent of him. Article 10 of the Code stated that teachers

> must not correspond with the department except:
> a) to make enquiry as to the amount of that part of the grant determined at inspection which affects them personally, and
> b) to transmit unless the Corresponding Manager makes some other arrangement, the monthly returns [of school attendance statistics, etc.].

Correspondence on all other subjects had to be conducted by the Corresponding Manager. There were precise regulations on a wide range of matters, most significant of which, perhaps, were sanctions relating to the managers themselves. If they failed to carry out their duties save in certain clearly defined situations, all grants to the school would cease. The proviso had become necessary because schools might be established or be claimed to be in existence simply in order that grants might be paid. But the relevant clause went beyond

this, and it was clearly stated in Article 7(b), and emphasized in the most pointed fashion, that orders, admonitions, instructions, and decisions of the meetings of managers must be conveyed to the teachers by the recognized correspondent exclusively. There were also clear regulations in the Code relating to meetings of managers and the way matters should be conducted. Article 98 entrenched the indispensability of the inspectoral function and required that it be carried out in each school year; if no visits were made and reports filed, no grant-in-aid was forthcoming. Article 99(v) sought to ensure that the teaching power provided for a school was not diverted to personal and private ends. Teachers were forbidden to employ school time for extra-contractual activities. Article 100 focused upon instructional efficiency and cognitive achievement: no results, no money. It is the boundary line of defence in the high strategy of payment-by-results. Article 107 specified the money value of marks gained on inspection.

The material tools with which the teachers were expected to produce results were exiguous in the extreme. Most school buildings were barnlike in plan, with benches and desks 10 to 12 feet long; a great many even when they had reached an advanced stage of dilapidation had to continue in use for many years more. Church basements were sometimes used. In an era when public sanitation was deplorable, particularly in the rural areas, the sanitation of schools often was a direct threat to the health and safety of the pupils. The government grants made for hygienic facilities were by any standards picayune and nicely calculated.

From about 1900 and for many years after, a principal teacher who spent an average of one and one-half hours per day giving extra lessons to pupil teachers would receive a payment not exceeding £3 per annum for training one pupil teacher and £1 for each additional pupil teacher. A pupil teacher at the top of his scale would be earning £1 per month or less. Small payments, such as six shillings per annum, would be made by the Education Department for each unit of an average attendance from 61 to 80 inclusive to some schools, and to other schools a further grant of twelve shillings per annum for each unit above 80. If a pupil teacher failed the annual examination, the payments to the school could be reduced until he had passed the examination or been succeeded by someone who had passed his examinations regularly. For decades, as from about 1900, grants were made to training colleges at the rate of £10 for every normal student who passed the examination whether of the first, second, or third year.

Thus, meticulous regulation matched niggardliness of scale of grants, and nowhere was this better illustrated than in matters relating to the teaching of agriculture in the elementary schools. Before a school could be recognized for a grant, an inspector had to certify that there was a school garden where practical teaching in agriculture and horticulture had been given out of school hours for at least four hours a week on an average during the school year. On

recognition, a grant not exceeding forty-five shillings was made for tools; alternatively, tools up to that value would be supplied. On the inspector's recommendation a further grant might be given a year later of a half of the cost of the new tools purchased during the year, provided that that grant did not exceed one penny per unit of the average attendance. A grant-in-aid might also be given towards the cost of erecting or repairing a fence and gate for the school garden, not exceeding any ordinary costs, forty shillings, or in any case three-fourths of the cost, an estimate for which had to be approved by the Department. No application for a further grant for that purchase was admissible within five years.

The Board of Education

In respect of elementary (all-age) schools the superintending inspector was in 1900 assisted by a Board of Education on which he sat as chairman. Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies, served as vice-chairman. There were at that time six other clergymen on the Board and four highly respectable lay persons. The duties and powers of the Board were to "consider and advise upon any matters connected with the working of Public Elementary Schools" and especially on compulsory attendance, siting of schools, the code of regulations, and the by-laws. A careful glance at the items in the Board's terms of reference will show the non-democratic, authoritarian character of the governance. For apart from routine dealing with attendance, siting, etc., it could "consider and advise upon" only such matters as were "referred to it by the Governor." Thus, a matter could hardly come up for consideration at the instance of anyone not distinctly favourable to the establishment. The common man's lobby was a circumspectly aggressive Jamaica Union of Teachers.

The Schools Commission

In respect of secondary education, a corporate body called the Jamaica Schools Commission was created in 1879 to be "a Governing Body for the Management of the Jamaica High School"[2] with a tiny, embryonic (and, as it turned out, ephemeral) university college attached to it. The Commission was also charged with the responsibility of visiting the Trust schools and preparing and executing schemes for the reform of governing bodies. This latter charge arose from the fact that in former times some Trust bodies had wasted private education endowments or let them be appropriated for personal uses.

The separation of elementary from secondary education has too often been remarked to call for further comment here. It merely reflected the deep class cleavage that was to persist in this matter to the present day. It is consistent with the traditional distinction that the superintending inspector, although made a member of the Schools Commission, was not its chairman. That honour was in 1900 held by Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies.

The superintending inspector (later director of education) held a seat in the Legislative Council as a nominated member and so combined functions today associated with the offices of the Minister, the Chief Education Officer, and indeed the Permanent Secretary, more or less. It was a powerful position. In 1944, when an executive council selected from both Houses of the legislature became the principal instrument of local colonial policy, the elected members in the council became quasi ministers. Education was lumped with Social Welfare in the same ministry. The political role of the director of education soon began its rapid decline, and the new era was entered upon by the creation in 1950 of the Education Authority. The Authority was to take over considerable policy-making functions. But an arrangement of this sort could only be temporary and six years later that body, which was in the direct line of descent from the old Board of Education, lost its policy-determining functions and became, as the Board had been, merely advisory. The present Education Advisory Council, therefore, has a statutory purview which, compared with that of its forebears, is to a large extent vestigial.

The post-colonial period has been management attempting not too successfully to adjust itself to the changed circumstances. A few experiments in organizational form have been tried.

In that interim the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare headed by the Permanent Secretary ran as an organ separate from and parallel to the Department of Education, the latter being under the Director of Education. It happened that for a short time the posts of Permanent Secretary and Director were held by the same person. This twin organization had the virtue theoretically of throwing squarely upon the shoulders of the Ministry policy formation in the two areas of public expenditure for which it was responsible. Theoretically also, technical personnel were then able to get on with their job as professionals without ministerial involvement at operational levels. Integration of the two organs followed close upon the attainment of plenary power by ministers after the colonial chiefs had departed.

Thus in 1957, on the exit of the English director of education, his successor (a negro Jamaican) was made advisory to the Minister and the Permanent Secretary in technical matters of education. The new chief was to have responsibility for observing the impact of policy decisions, advising on new procedures, and assessing the efficiency of those in use. He had argued that a professional at that level could not function at his best under day-to-day supervision of "lay" colleagues; and the authorities had agreed. However, when the post was vacated not too long afterwards (1958), a number of posts of Chief Education Officer were created, one of these being designated Senior Chief Education Officer. But this is to anticipate events. Since before 1957 there had been in process the formulation of a policy programme that was to liberalize educational thinking and become the historical take-off point of

development in the new era. By 1958 the new plans had been under way for some time.

The results are set down briefly but instructively in paragraph 46 of the Report of the Ministry of Education for the year ended 31 December 1958:

> This new policy and programme, following closely as it did in the wake of further constitutional development in 1957, rendered necessary that the ministry should be reorganised, and that the education department which was its executive arm, should be integrated into the ministry. Accordingly, the education department was abolished as a separate entity, the ministry divided into five sections, certain functions relating to the supervision of schools decentralised, a considerable increase in staff effected and changes in structure and nomenclature instituted.

The upshot was that in addition to being responsible for policy-making and administration, the Ministry took on "operational" management as well – a development that would anywhere constitute forfeiture of the benefits that would obtain if the principle of "division of responsibility" were adopted.

The education officers came under the supervision, more or less direct, of the Minister and the Permanent Secretary. After a few years the post of Chief Education Officer, once again uniquely designated, was reintroduced. A planning unit was also created. At the present time there are two Chief Education Officers: one for the general purposes and one for planning. It is necessary that the pursuit of a more efficient ordering of inter-official relationships should continue.

The principal professional officers should have full scope to get on with the job, once the necessary policy decisions have been taken. The observer outside the centre does not associate them with this freedom or the taking of initiatives; their role appears to be to *react*, within a framework made restrictive by a consciousness that lines of authority might become crossed above their heads. The process of policy decision-making, even in the highly developed societies, is sometimes slow and involved, and in any matter some aspects of *policy* may become so bound up with *operation* that each major stage of the latter must be monitored for policy implications. Once the two can be disengaged, however, and funds have been made available, speed in action should be the watchword; and in this connection research should be instituted with a view to rationalizing the various processes, relationships, and task allocations in the Jamaican situation.

The posts of Chief Education Officer should have functions that are principally advisory, but the holders should have freedom to assume executive responsibility in particular instances. Other professional managers (with functions also resembling those of a technocrat) are required at various levels. They should have responsibility and authority appropriate to their level. The incumbents should be persons of strength, imagination, and initiative. Some of them should be specialists.

In the Report of an in-depth study of primary education commissioned by the Ministry of Education the following observations are made regarding the role of head teachers, their accountability to managers, and their responsibility to their schools:[3]

> The teacher is accountable in the first place to the Board of Managers, which in turn is responsible to the Minister for the "conduct, supervision and effective maintenance of the institution", among other things. This is the law. There is therefore a great deal more required of a Board than it can at present be expected to perform. The law deals similarly with the expenditure of grants made to the institutions and, of course, with serious breaches of discipline on the part of pupils of the institution. This is one line of accountability with which few persons seem to be satisfied. It is clear that the Ministry of Education needs, in the fulfilling of the law, to play a direct and active role. The fact that the Head or the principal teacher is expected to be a special kind of person is underlined by the special regulations enshrined in the law for his or her appointment. His/her accountability to the Board is implied, as is that of the other teachers of the school to him. The procedure by which the latter is effected is not clear. In Barbados, for example, head teachers report personally on members of staff. This practice serves as a reminder to the Head of his own responsibility vis-à-vis the Ministry or the Board. It could well be that the lack of a clear procedure is acting as an excuse for some of the many instances of casual behaviour about important matters which were reported to the Committee and indeed observed by us. Principals were too frequently absent from schools, too frequently they seemed to lack awareness of significant initiatives that obviously they should have assumed. Since Boards of Managers are the agencies to which the Government, by law, has delegated the power, authority, and responsibility for, *inter alia*, appointing teachers, every care must be taken to ensure that proper criteria are established for selection and retention of Board members and Chairmen. It seems reasonable to suggest that where a number of primary schools "feed" a junior secondary school [now called secondary school], one Board would serve this group of schools.

Over a period of several decades there had been instance after instance of teachers and managers of elementary schools being seriously at loggerheads. At the root of offence lay Articles 40 and 72 of the Code of Regulations. Article 40 made engagements terminable by three months' notice on either side; and, together with Article 72, it gave the manager power of summary dismissal over the teacher on the ground of "professional misconduct." This phrase commonly meant the teacher had failed to maintain in his behaviour the expected standards of Victorian prudery, particularly in matters of sex. But in addition if a teacher refused to do church work, chastisement would follow, a quarrel would develop, and in due course the teacher would be forced out. The handbook of school management (1973) issued by the

Ministry of Education and the Jamaica Teachers' Association contains a copy of a circular which emphasizes the seriousness of ill-advised termination of teachers' appointments. Today the issues are less clear-cut than in the past except for the occasions, rarer than might be suspected, when politics enters into play. Teachers now enjoy a remarkable security of tenure. However, as the Murray Report disclosed:

> About 50% of the 408 respondents to the two questions put to them indicated that if they had the opportunity to recommend a Chairman for their Board of Managers, they would not recommend the then incumbent. The responses paint a serious picture. Eighty-eight of them say their Boards are incompetent; 144 claim that their Boards lack interest in the school and education; and 36 dislike the political and/or religious interference in their work. A mere 25% of the schools report the feeling that their Boards show interest in the schools and education generally, and less than 20% think that the Boards demonstrate competence in handling the affairs of the schools.

The importance of "containing" political influence has been taken into account in the framing of the regulations under the education law relating to the establishment of school boards. Nowhere are the issues that might arise from the clash of interests better illustrated than in the case of *Byfield* v. *Allen*. Byfield, a known supporter of the People's National Party, had, at a time when the Jamaica Labour Party was in power, applied for the headship of a school situated in a constituency held by the J.L.P. The Minister, to whom the regulations gave the power to approve or reject an appointment made by the Board, rejected the appointment and asked the Board to submit to him a list of two or three names other than that of Mr. Byfield from which he could make a selection. The Board refused to comply with the request, and through the chairman and some members sought reasons for the action taken by the Minister. The reasons ultimately given for the refusal were such as to lead to the formation by Mr. Byfield of the opinion that his constitutional rights were being contravened, and he applied unsuccessfully to the Supreme Court, and later, also unsuccessfully, to the Court of Appeal, for a declaration to that effect.[4]

Exercise of political influence over a Board is facilitated by the power of the Minister to remove uncooperative members and to pack it with party supporters. A Minister can invoke this power to any extent he might deem necessary in the interest of his party. In the law at present in force, the Minister is required at least in disputable cases of appointment of principals to seek the advice of a Committee of the Education Advisory Council, which comprises in equal numbers the nominees of the Minister on the one hand and of the Teachers' Association and aided educational institutions on the other. The law also provides for consultation between the Minister and the chairman of the Board or the Board itself.

Half a century or more ago Board members were selected from the clergy

(the church cradled the school anyway) and the more respectable elements of the parish. Class per se is no longer a criterion. Today the hallmark of trust is one's political party; even literacy is not of fundamental importance. In bygone times a governor packed an education board to serve conservative colonial ends. Today a Minister can do likewise in the party's interest.

The following statement is taken from a handbook of school management issued to school boards, principals, and staff of public educational institutions: "The Minister cannot administer each school individually and so he delegates authority to a Board of Management which he appoints." There is no reason of principle, however, why the Minister should not cut himself from so direct a responsibility in a situation in which a certain remoteness would be advantageous. There could, for instance, be parish (individual or grouped) authorities to whom power could be delegated. Another alternative would be to create regional education commissions with a non-partisan base; still another would be an arrangement that made all teachers civil servants. Dispositions of these kinds, however, have implications far wider than the matter of school governance and are not in the Jamaican tradition.

The practice in being was wholly suited to colonial times when limitation and control were a basic preoccupation; it accords too with today's preference for centralization of power. But irrespective of the usual connotation of "running a tight ship," centralization does not specially reflect firmness of organization, authority, or accountability.

Management and Mismanagement

Management in public departments of Jamaica has been characterized as "a national calamity."[5] As regards education, in the absence of research on the matter, one must conclude that for reasons not always clear, levels of individual responsibility and technical efficiency have been lower than circumstances demanded. The education reporter in the *Daily Gleaner* of 7 March 1976 attributes to the government and its Ministers of Education the "apparent conviction that the mere provision of funds guarantees the successful implementation of programmes." Here the reporter's thrust is somewhat sharp, but the point should be taken.

It is evident also that concern with the daily mechanics of administration overbalances understanding of "content" – an observation which might justly be made of similar institutions elsewhere. (By "content" is meant the goals, the foundation, and the practice of education.)

Members of the central office should have a less restricted appreciation of their roles; they should be given special preparation for these roles. Expert knowledge of some essential aspects of education is scarce. In some fields it is available only at the University of the West Indies, but gaps exist here too and must be filled in. Moreover, whereas the university specialist enjoys a pro-

vision for updating of skills built into the job situation, the ministry officer may easily become out of date for lack of any such provision. There is, therefore, every reason for sensible collaboration between the two. If nomenclature is to indicate anything, the term "education officer" with its variants describes civil servants who have enough command of administrative processes to facilitate the technical-professional issues of which they may be presumed to have full understanding, but who in their executive role should forbear to offer themselves as those necessarily having the last word on matters of "content."

Training for management is a fairly modern concept, and provision of it on an in-service basis as well as for potential recruits is a *responsibility of management itself*. It is all part of that transfer of technology which, as the Third World seems to be persuaded, is essential to salvation. The transfer of technology, however, is neither simple nor straightforward. Running a machine shop in Bolton, England, or an audio-visual aids outfit in Miami are different from doing the same things in Kingston, Jamaica. Many materials behave differently from climate to climate. Even more important are differences in the work outlook of the people and in their mental discipline.

Training in management will therefore be of little value if not shaped with reference to cultural, social, and psychological factors, not to mention the general level of efficiency, in the milieu from which the trainees gained their mental set. Modern textbooks on the subject are good, but they cannot tell about local self-image and work attitudes and aspirations or the character of local authority systems. These things must be uncovered and analysed on the spot in situations as near as possible to the actual, and the information brought to bear on training programmes. The administrator wholly trained abroad is beginning with a double handicap inasmuch as both management practice and management training must be rooted in the milieu. It is important in this regard for the government and the local university to collaborate on evolving strategies in both areas.

Quantity and Quality

The Jamaican system of education originated in voluntary action in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Opportunities for secondary education were few; for university education, virtually non-existent. The first great leap in high school enrolment (1957) involved a mere four percent of the total age cohort eligible. In the post-colonial era now passing, education although significantly expanded did not change much in outlook. In retrospect it is seen, at best, as a passport to white-collar employment and the status accompanying it. Never was it a way of preparing the whole population for creative participation in the economic or cultural life of the country. The system thus briefly described has also been condemned as élitist; but the new ideal of universal schooling has not yet taken practical shape.

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A good education, however broadly defined, must on present indications for a long time remain a dream for the great majority of the population. The society bemuses itself with products that come from places of high productivity, such as the United States of America. But the society ignores the intellectual basis of that achievement. It does not show awareness of the connection between the glory of material goods and efficient service on the one hand and scholarly discipline and creativity on the other. There is little evidence of understanding of the connection between slipshod thinking in the classroom and primitive practices on the farm. Failure of this kind is not peculiar to Jamaica; it is likely to condemn the so-called Third World to its present place for decades to come. "While in the more developed countries of the Commonwealth the immediate goals today can be described as mainly qualitative development, . . . in the new members the production of quantities of skilled manpower is a dominant objective . . . and while some are able to consider both the maintenance of minimum quality with the increase in quantity, others simply cannot afford the luxury of quality consideration at present, and many African and Asian countries undergoing rapid education expansion tend impatiently to dismiss measures designed to ensure minimum quality."[6] Hanson, Cozier, et al. remind us that by 1971

> leaders in many countries already realised that it was far easier to reduce quantitative bottlenecks as measured by numbers to places at the secondary level than to ensure
>
> 1) that those finishing secondary school would have the qualitative academic background universities and post-secondary training institutions expected; or
>
> 2) that sufficient jobs at a level even approximating their expectations would be available to those not going on to further education.[7]

These authors allude also to "serious consideration of the maintaining of excellency and standards in education and the means whereby they can be acquired and ensured in English speaking Africa." And, as they say, the first and most common of such means was the use of the School Certificate Examinations originating in various British examining boards. Jamaican candidates do not as a whole make a particularly good showing on these examinations; but it must be remembered that such tests are not the best or only way of ensuring quality in education. One has to be concerned with the teaching process in the first place. What Jamaica and other new ex-colonies are finding out, however, is this: that the battle for quality is not won on the field of quantity; and that there are some features in the colonial experience that arose from the imperatives of human development and not from what is essentially inhuman in colonialism, and these features must be not only preserved but also cherished.

In the notable expansion of education so far undertaken, although money

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has been sometimes scarce, lack of funds has not always been the main handicap. There has been a crippling shortage of adequately educated teachers and almost no surplus management power. School supervision especially at the high school level has had to go almost out of fashion. These areas – teaching and managing – should have been the subject of very special initial concentration. Impressive building programmes have been undertaken with foreign aid. Basic (i.e., infant-type) education hitherto hardly provided for has had to be financed. The post-primary sections of all-age schools have had to be reformed, equipped, and rechristened "secondary schools." More vocational training institutions have had to be set up. The selection process has had to be modernized. As is usual with countries with backward technologies, important new functions have had too often to be entrusted to persons who, when of local origin, had not yet learnt how to apply their new-found expertise to the real needs and, when expatriate, could not always go directly to the heart of local needs. Much of the innovation could not be absorbed (radio and TV teaching and the new maths are examples); and waste was inevitable. There has not been sufficient management energy to control the rate of change. Unit costs rose even before inflation and other factors set in to force the dramatic slowing down of expenditure being experienced at the time of writing. On the whole, education is qualitatively better than in the past in the sense that the content is becoming more relevant and modern. But quality in the sense of excellence is endangered in the process.

Expansion and innovation have laid great strain upon the planning desk, and in this connection outside bodies have played major roles in providing technical assistance. It has been realized that implementation depends upon planning and cannot be dissociated from it.

> Educational planning has in the last two decades been the subject of so much expert attention, especially from international agencies, that no extensive treatment of it is required. . . . However, there is one crucial aspect of it that has received little study and now appears to deserve high priority. This is planning in its instructional nexus – as a total link between intention and actual achievement. In most planning the dominant concerns are about inputs of hardware, money, pupil enrolment quantities, manpower figures, etc. It is all macro and global.
>
> Effective planning goes beyond this to postulate achievement and to chart the follow-through from methods and techniques to this achievement. It should start off with a thorough analysis of objectives, along with the resources available, and then work back step by step to means and measures. In traditional planning, one reaches for means and measures by intuition and assumes a connection with results. Because the ultimate purpose is learning, the decisive criterion of any plan is how effectively the cause-effect events that may lead to learning are predicted and pre-arranged. This is where the emphasis should be laid, not on global quantities or general statements about methods and approaches. Policy programmes are

usually recommended to the public in such terms as the following: – The strategies to be utilised in launching the new development are sketched in this Pink Paper. It is a guideline for the activities, which, if faithfully pursued, will produce spectacular results in the future. – Well and good. But the Pink Paper reflects only macro-planning and stops short where modular or instrumental planning should take over to provide demonstration for the claims. Modular planning is weak in a great many countries, and so a yawning gap remains between promise and fulfilment. Evaluation is too frequently regarded as a luxury.

Here indeed is the graveyard of a system's credibility. Justification for a particular choice of action is usually merely intuitive, rarely ever empirical. Management rarely ever demonstrates the logical rightness of any of its actions. Claims are asserted; action is taken; and posterity looks back upon errors in resignation.[8]

An instance of planning for quality is seen in the Draft Plan for Education in Trinidad and Tobago 1968-1983, where attention is paid not only to accommodation and the like but also to the defining of the purpose of courses and the timetable implications along with the level of teacher qualification required.

When pre-implementation experiments cannot be undertaken – and these have been rare – at least some attempt should be made to involve teachers in particular and the public in general in some sort of discussion of projected changes that are likely to be far-reaching in effect. The central office should not shut out all local wisdom but its own.

Political Influence

In any populous society members of a central bureaucracy are likely to enjoy an anonymity that comes from numbers and remoteness. This shelter hardly obtains in a situation such as the Ministry of Education, Jamaica, where persons seriously interested may without much difficulty succeed in identifying the maker of a particular decision. Political overtones may thus be freely generated. There are limits to the value of anonymity; in the pursuit of efficiency, anonymity must give way to accountability. The Minister is in the final analysis responsible, but there must be many links in the chain of command and only few civil servants should at any time be reporting directly to a politician. But more civil servants should have opportunity to explain their achievements to the public. They could do this more easily in a politically neutral situation than in one where party feeling could be raised. As in any country, partisanship may influence educational events not only at the policy formation level but also at the level of implementation; it is capable of rendering long-term planning a futile exercise. A Minister newly coming to office should not be tempted to initiate programmes that have no inherent claim to being urgent at the expense of existing programmes which clearly need to be

consolidated and extended. As one teacher complains, "We are always beginning." Senior civil servants have not always found it a simple matter to perform their office with due detachment, creativity, and promptitude. Although the Minister and Parliamentary Secretary do not as a rule interfere with the detailed conduct of affairs, their presence among civil servants who are dealing directly with the public – including influential party supporters – does not make for the confident use of discretion and independent judgment.

Egalitarianism

Since 1972 the notion of egalitarianism has been inscribed in the political ideology of the ruling party. The Prime Minister states:

> If the strategy of egalitarian transformation involves all these things at the attitudinal, the practical and the personal-psychological level, we must ask ourselves what kind of school system this implies. Obviously, *it implies universal education organised in a single stream that is equally available to every single child at an early age and which delivers every child into the social and economic stream adequately prepared for the kind of task to which it is fitted by aptitude and inclination. Diversity of training must clearly take place within a single organisational frame.* [Italics added.][9]

The Prime Minister goes on to prescribe what, following Julius Nyerere, he has called the *total school*, which "must be involved in the political process both internally and externally." This statement is explained. "[By political process] I do not mean party politics but politics in the wider sense of how any group responds to its problems and arrives at decisions about these problems." The total school is also involved in manual work, economic production, "every form of creative activity, and in the community."

An admirable philosophy such as this is one thing; management action to create matching reality is another. In a country where quality has been an elusive goal, a doctrine of egalitarian provision in education must be accompanied in its presentation and implementation with due concern for excellence. The behaviour of administrators and teachers and the arrangements by which academic and attitudinal standards were maintained in the past have to varying extents become obsolete. School supervision is inadequate in scope and scale. In all future strategies, therefore, means must be included to generate fresh and higher intellectual and moral objectives. But one is tempted *in all realism* to place the implied objectives of the philosophy not in the immediate but in the long range, requiring as they do sweeping changes in school organization as well as staffing policies incomparably more generous and costly than might at any time in the past have seemed possible to adopt. What is at stake in a state of under-provided egalitarianism is the better chance in life now enjoyed by high school pupils because of somewhat better conditions and educated teachers, unsatisfactory as the schools are in some respects

widely acknowledged to be. There are today 1995 teachers (of whom 1159 are university graduates) in 57 high schools,[10] an average of 20.3 *graduate* teachers per school and an overall teacher/pupil ratio of 1:18.3. In a non-selective arrangement these teachers could be spread among 200 000 pupils counting the high, the technical, and the new secondary (i.e., junior secondary) enrolments and that part of the all-age enrolment that is accounted for by children of secondary age; but in this computation there would be over 160 pupils for each graduate teacher. Where, in sum, would the resources – staff and equipment – come from to enable every secondary school to offer courses such as are currently available in the high schools?

An interesting comment on the new secondary schools is provided by Dr. Adam Kuper, an anthropologist who at the invitation of the government made a study in 1972–73 of "the tendencies of social change" in the country. From this study Dr. Kuper has written a book entitled *Changing Jamaica*, and in the chapter on the education system he observes, inter alia:

> The second level is divided into three streams – the academic secondary schools, the technical high schools, and the comparatively recent "junior secondary" and "comprehensive" schools, which last are simply a way of prolonging the inadequate mass primary education for a couple of years. (Although few junior secondary and comprehensive schools have yet found a suitable educational approach and goal, they are now entrusted with 40 per cent of the students in the public secondary sector. Most of them are little more than elaborate deceptions practised upon the unsuspecting mass of poor and uneducated Jamaicans.)[11]

Values in the National Ideal

> One result of the many political, social, and industrial changes of a century has been to evolve education into the great constructive tool of modern political society. . . . As people are freed from autocratic rule and take upon themselves the functions of government, and as they break loose from their age-old political, social, and industrial moorings and swing out into the current of the stream of modern world-civilisation, the need for the education of the masses to enable them to steer safely their ship of state, and take their places among the stable governments of the modern world, becomes painfully evident. In the hands of an uneducated people a democratic form of government is a dangerous instrument, while the proper development of natural resources and the utilisation of trade opportunities by backward peoples without being exploited, is almost impossible.[12]

Small beginning has been made in this sphere, by means of material mainly historical, with biographies of national heroes interwoven into the curriculum. The problem of teacher morale and attitude remains.

It might be suggested that the growth of attention to the affective (and

conative) areas of education could be enhanced if a unit were formed in the Ministry of Education responsible for designing plans and programmes of varied activities to promote the desired values. The activities would fall under that section of the Ministry which deals with curriculum development and would be subsumed under headings already well established, such as social studies, environmental science, geography, and poetry and song. Extra-curricular work and community service, ceremony, and displays could be added, and the young in schools and clubs could participate in them. Present approaches tend to be haphazard, fragmented, and lacking in direction.

In addition to this there is need to promote an appreciation of the national ideals and culture – some conception of the meaning and purpose of national life. It was of this Norman Washington Manley spoke in 1938 when he said:

> No amount of mere economic progress will make a real unity in our people. All efforts will be wasted unless the masses of the people are steadily taken along a path in which they will feel more and more that this is their home and their country, and that it is their responsibility to work for its future. When that is realised, then there will be something to work for, and through that feeling will come greater efforts, more thinking, a higher discipline, and more honesty. These things cannot be achieved if measures of social improvement are divorced from the reality of common ideals about a national life.[13]

The education of the masses must transcend mere literacy and a superficial acquaintance with a few subjects and skills if it is to achieve this new dimension of quality. A. N. Whitehead speaks of "activity of thought, sensitivity to beauty and humane feeling." Education for these qualities requires even greater care than teaching in the well-traversed cognitive domain.

Concern for Standards

The foregoing discussion may be summed up in one question: How can a concern for standards be brought back? The answer must be various. In the first place, the regulations of the system must favour the development of standards. The Code promulgated in 1966 contains the word "efficiency" only once and in a context which makes its meaning dubious. When philosophy and objectives are made clear, the right regulations will follow to give effect to them; and there is a right moral climate that is the precondition for regulations to be respected, once agreed upon.

In the next place, the persons at the helm must be converted to a belief in excellence. They must understand the peculiar role of management in the preservation of standards and the need for special arrangements to promote excellence. This new understanding must first enter into the minds of the politicians. But politicians come and go, and not all may be assumed to be putting such considerations first. The way to ensure not only efficiency and produc-

tivity but a reasonable measure of continuity in quality developments in education is to create and maintain a corps of professionals in the civil service sector of the management system – an élite corps if need be – who know how to work with the politicians so as to get the best out of them. They must also know how to withstand other pressure groups and individuals who have influence but are little qualified to wield it in the nation's interest.

Conclusion

If the purpose of education is to smooth mankind's path to the good life – the development of human abilities for the achievement of all-round well-being – not many Third World nations appear to have a better chance of attaining that goal today than they did two decades ago when the tide of expectation was beginning to run high. In science and technology, the twin miracle-workers in development, people saw a promise which is today becoming blurred. Rich and super-rich countries are no more inclined at present than they were in the past to share their wealth with the poor; and the poor have not shown themselves capable of the discipline, the organization, and the creativity necessary for taking full advantage of opportunities for growth. Economic disruption caused by the oil crisis has underscored the weaknesses in resource management. Decline in living standards in countries like Jamaica, Guyana, and Ghana has not failed to reflect itself in the education systems, especially in the shortages of those facilities that have to be imported from abroad – electronic teaching aids, laboratory equipment and materials, transport units, etc.

In Jamaica and Guyana, too, political forms still in the painful parturient stages are compounding the difficulties of the economic situation. Worthy policies in education generated by the recently adopted ideologies – free access to all levels of education, equal opportunity, cultural relevancy, self-reliance – are being frustrated by the very forces that brought them into life. For instance, although a good start has been made at the lower reaches of education in replacing foreign-produced reading material with locally developed texts, there is still heavy dependence upon British and American books and journals at the secondary and tertiary levels. Local print production requires technology which in the present economic and political circumstances cannot easily be obtained. These two countries have also been losing skilled manpower, including educators, at a high rate.

One of the outcomes of the new thinking in countries with transplanted populations has been a search for "roots." This is exemplified in Jamaica by a rise of interest in aspects of African culture, history, and political life, and by a tendency for the privileged to seek identification with people below them in the social scale. Many whose mixed (Euro-African) racial origins would in the past have constituted a basis for the formation of exclusive

groupings now make common social cause with the black poor. These new attitudes are linked to a marked preference in musical taste for the locally invented reggae beat and folk songs and, in speech, for idioms originating with the semi-literate. Part of the phenomenon is affectation, but the base is real. Accompanying the notions about "roots," and probably allied to the carefully nurtured anti-imperialist and anti-colonial feelings, has been a new affirmation of Jamaican intellectual autonomy.

Founded in 1948, the University of the West Indies had led the way in researching and publishing local history, sociology, and economics. Journalists, broadcasters, advertisers, and others also learnt to treat topics and motifs according to their intrinsic importance and not, as in the past, on principle to relegate Jamaican and Caribbean subjects to second place among those deserving serious attention. Today, increased interest is being taken by local writers and artists in urban slum life as a source for themes.

The first "roots men" were the Rastafarians, whose philosophy has tended to influence the cultural sympathies of large sections of the population, including young persons of distinctly middle-class origins. The ostentatious search for "roots" possesses the semblance of a threat to exclude all interest in foreign cultures that cannot obviously be put to some utilitarian purpose. The educator is therefore challenged to restructure the edifice of school-dispensed knowledge so that adherence to local lore and expression can be truly legitimized while allowing broad windows to be kept open on the world.

Balance and priority are fundamental issues in education which few Third World countries, including those specially mentioned in the foregoing pages, have been able to resolve satisfactorily at any time. Priorities are subject to sudden changes in the fluid situations, and there are always many pressing demands, some championed by powerful interests, competing for the scarce resources. The impulse to add more of what already exists is strong, since so often what exists is too little, whether it is literacy or diversified secondary education, or teacher or vocational training. Thus, whatever may be published in five- or ten-year plans, invariably in practice it is expansion that most frequently comes out at the top. Support for qualitative aims in many sectors of education is intermittent rather than sustained.

One of the graver defects of the British-derived education systems is the social divisiveness they have encouraged. In Jamaica this is evidenced at the pre-primary and primary stages in the existence of infant and preparatory schools for one class, and basic and primary schools for another, to be followed later in the individual's life by the secondary high school and the new secondary school respectively. The division recurs in teacher education: some teachers are university prepared, while others are training college graduates. It is repeated in the skill training arrangements, none of which fit the learner for the coveted opportunities that are reserved to those who attended the high schools.

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The historical beginnings of these divisions have been illustrated in the foregoing pages, and the practices have become part of a tradition. Certificates from the high school meant the best jobs and status. But access to the schools themselves used to be subject to arbitrary social control. An exaggerated importance became attached to the mere fact of having attended certain schools. A great deal of the "knowledge" considered indispensable bore no relation to anything practical or, in the local circumstances, useful. Intelligence, great personal virtue, and even a good education availed but little when not bearing the high school stamp. Today the high school is still largely a school for the privileged, and the certificates still, somewhat unjustly, a passport to employment.

With regard to vocational training, the education systems, isolated as they are from the incentive structures within the economic systems, offer no assistance beyond providing the raw skills to the young person wishing to establish an enterprise on his own. Vocational skill training rarely includes training in management, and rarely is the "graduate" even given a set of tools. Agriculture presents a special case of difficulty; land, farm implements, seeds, and sometimes housing have to be present before the vocational school leaver can take advantage of the skills he has acquired. The abandonment of the student farmer scheme in Jamaica affirmed the irrational separation of the education from the industrial system.

In many developing countries, responsibility for education is shared among more than one Ministry, and each Ministry nourishes its own priorities to the extent it is able. But when the priorities are brought together, they do not always add up to a significant development thrust. This is why in several countries of the English-speaking Caribbean, for example, there is little visible relationship between national goals and the more salient development features in the systems of education.

In many Third World countries, too, the tendency to centralization in administration is pronounced, stifling individual initiatives, including community efforts. In Jamaica, as in Guyana, because political considerations have been overruling some traditional values held dear by teachers, the morale of the latter has weakened. The bureaucratic centralization provides a convenient atmosphere for Ministers to personalize their official functions if they are so inclined to do. All decisions, including some very inconsequential ones, may thus be reserved, and in the extreme cases civil servants are discouraged from assuming the responsibilities or exercising the discretion proper to their level in the hierarchy.

There are therefore serious impediments to progress; but as these are rarely perceived for what they are, patterns are likely to harden.

For these reasons the recurrence of disappointment and disillusion is inevitable, even if in some directions wholesome gains are made.

NOTES

1. See, for example, the report of the 1898 Commission, paragraph 1249.

2. Later called Jamaica College.

3. R. N. Murray, *The Murray Report on Primary Education* (Kingston: Ministry of Education, 1974).

4. O. R. Marshall, "A Clash of Pedagogues," *Jamaica Law Journal* (October 1971).

5. *Daily Gleaner*, Business Supplement, 22 February 1976.

6. R. E. O. Akpofure's article in *Report of Commonwealth Education Conference* (Kingston, 1974), pp. 110-11.

7. *Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-Speaking Africa* (East Lansing: Michigan State Univers' ', 1974), pp. 9-11.

8. R. N. Murray, "What Kind of System?," in *Report of Commonwealth Education Conference.*

9. See *Report of Commonwealth Education Conference.*

10. These figures include technical schools. The data in this paragraph are taken from the Ministry of Education publication *Education Statistics, 1974-1975.*

11. (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1976).

12. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), p. 739.

13. Norman Washington Manley, *Man of Destiny* (Kingston: P.N.P./City Printery, 1954), p. 33.

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Guyana and Ghana share with Jamaica – and most of the Third World – a past of colonialism and a present of self-determination. But independence of itself does not ensure an education system that meets the needs of a young state and the aspirations of its people. The articles in this collection carefully examine the impact of the colonial legacy and analyse the misdirections, false starts, and set backs plaguing countries that face the absolute necessity of developing education services as well as the absolute necessity of finding their own path to that goal.

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